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The Democracy of Aaron Burr

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In July of this year will be noted the 150th anniversary of America's most famous duel. At Weehawken, in 1804, Alexander Hamilton was killed by Aaron Burr, native of Newark, son of a clergyman (president of the College of New Jersey). Burr died in 1836 and is buried in Princeton, but the controversy resulting from his private and political acts still lives on.

OF men prominent in public life during the formative period of the American nation the most outrageously vilified were probably Thomas Paine, Thomas Jefferson, and Aaron Burr. To be sure, they were not the only ones. Alexander Hamilton was described by John Adams as "the most restless, impatient, artful, indefatigable and unprincipled intriguer in the United States, if not in the world," and Hamilton wrote no more flatteringly of Adams. But these expressions of mutual esteem were confined primarily to the two men themselves, who were rivals for control of the Federalist party. The three distinguished Jacobins, on the other hand, could count their defamers in much larger numbers. Paine, in his own lifetime and after, was almost universally execrated as a "filthy little

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atheist." Jefferson was regarded by conservatives throughout the North, not merely as an apostle of revolution, but as a harbinger of anarchy and a reign of terror. In the words of Timothy Dwight, president of Yale, the election of Jefferson as President of the United States would mean that "the Bible would be cast into a bonfire, our holy worship changed into a Jacobin phrensy, our wives and daughters dishonored, and our sons converted into disciples of Voltaire and the dragoons of Marat."

Aaron Burr carried a much greater burden of obloquy, and it was longer lasting. During the election of 1804 he was maligned as a libertine and a heartless seducer, who had filled the brothels of New York with the innocent victims of his lechery. After the duel with Hamilton he was branded as a murderer. His property was confiscated, and, although still Vice-President of the United States, he was forced to take refuge on an island off the coast of Georgia until the storms of hatred had spent some of their force. In 1806 Jefferson succeeded in stigmatizing him in the public mind as a traitor. He was acquitted in three successive trials, but the zeal of his prosecutors, together with the character assassination of political campaigns and the results of the duel with Hamilton, left the bulk of Americans in the northern and eastern sections still convinced of his guilt.

To this day the name of Aaron Burr remains a symbol of wasted talent, of genius perverted to immoral ends. Despite a succession of scholarly studies by Walter F. McCaleb, Samuel H. Wandell and Meade Minnigerode, and Nathan Schachner presenting strong proofs to the contrary, it is still commonly assumed that Burr was a brilliant but unprincipled scoundrel, that he was devoid of feeling and insincere, that he was never the sponsor of any cause except his own, that he was mysterious, adept at intrigue, fundamentally dishonest, and hypocritical. There is a widespread feeling that he escaped conviction for his monstrous crimes only upon technicalities, and that his defects of character were sufficiently glaring to prove him capable of almost anything.

That the conventional portrait of Burr is a grotesque distort-

tion becomes evident to anyone who studies his writings, the comments of his friends and enemies, and the turbulent history of his times. Without doubt he was no demigod. His faults were at least as numerous as those of Jefferson, John Adams, and probably Hamilton. He was ambitious, self-centered, vain, and occasionally sullen and vengeful. Although never actually dishonest, he was adept at some of the lower arts of political trickery and he did not scruple in one or two instances at using political power for personal advantage. There can be no doubt, also, that his private life fell considerably short of Puritan ideals. His memoirs and letters present a picture of an American Casanova, pursuing amatory pleasures as lightheartedly and indiscriminately as a pagan god of love. But one must remember that he lived in an age which reflected the influence of the broad-minded ethics of the Enlightenment. The morals of some of his prominent contemporaries, notably Franklin and Hamilton, were not stainless either. Finally, there is always the possibility that Burr was simply more frank than most men.

The idea that Aaron Burr was insincere or hypocritical receives almost no corroboration from the records of his life. He often concealed his feeling behind a facade of stoic self-discipline, but there is hardly an instance of deliberate intent to deceive the public by saying what he did not mean. If he erred at all, it was on the side of being too candid and outspoken. While still in his teens he came to the conclusion that organized religions were worthless, that the "road to Heaven was open to all alike,"¹ and he never sought to gain respectability by professing beliefs he did not hold. To a friendly minister who sought to question him on his deathbed as to his hope of salvation he replied, "On that subject I am coy."

Though he considered it unmanly to make public exhibition of sorrow, anger, or jealousy, he was by no means devoid of feelings. His devotion to his wife and daughter, his stepsons and his grandson shows a capacity for affection and loyalty rarely equaled. He provided a home for Luther Martin in the latter's sodden old age as a reward for valiant services in the treason

¹Matthew L. Davis, ed., *Memoirs of Aaron Burr, with Miscellaneous Selections from His Correspondence* (New York, 1837), I, 45; hereafter cited as *Memoirs*.

trial of 1807. Even with strangers he was generous to a fault, sharing his last dollar with beggars and derelicts he met in the streets. In his *Private Journal*, written during his sojourn in Europe, he records occasional instances in which he gave way to remorse. In one of them a pretty little girl about six years old came into his room with a guitar in her hand, "and, muttering a few words in German, began to sing and play." He gave her "a gooden groshen" but drove her rudely from the room. A minute later he was penitent and thought he must have been "possessed by the devil." He spent the rest of the day looking for her in vain.²

The impression of Aaron Burr as an American Bonaparte, interested in no cause but his own, has little weight or substance. Instead of being a reckless adventurer, with a lust for nothing but power, he was in many ways an apostle of progress and a radical democrat, with a hatred of aristocracy and a zeal for promoting nearly every social and political advance that marked the times. In his enthusiasm for the French Revolution, for popular sovereignty, for the abolition of slavery and imprisonment for debt, for land reform, for reform of the Senate, and for equalization of the sexes he was at least as radical as Jefferson and in some respects more so. By his zeal for westward expansionism he anticipated the prophets of Manifest Destiny. Through his activities in machine politics, his appeal to the urban masses as well as to land-hungry frontiersmen, and his demand for a new system of nominating Presidents, he helped to prepare the way for the Jacksonian Revolution. In fact, he was one of the first to acclaim Andrew Jackson as the logical successor of Madison instead of the "pusillanimous and illiterate" James Monroe.³

II

Since Aaron Burr wrote no political treatises, it is necessary to discover a large part of his political theory in the events of his life. As almost everyone knows, his mother was the daughter of Jonathan Edwards and his father was the second

²Matthew L. Davis, ed., *The Private Journal of Aaron Burr* (New York, 1838), I, 376; hereafter cited as *Private Journal*.

³*Memoirs*, II, 434.

president of Princeton. Intended for the ministry, he rebelled against the profession and against religion itself as a result of what he considered the emotional excesses of the Great Awakening. He turned to the law and climbed quickly to the top of the ladder as a practicing attorney. Although much of his success was due to his passion for thoroughness and his exhaustive labors in preparing his briefs, he had valuable assets also in his keen, analytical mind and his penchant for grasping detail. Only the great Hamilton could vie with him for leadership of the New York bar, and no small amount of the rivalry of the two men stemmed from this source.

Burr became a politician almost by accident and quite independent of any design or plan. He had never shown much interest in politics and would obviously have preferred to remain a lawyer. In 1784, at the age of twenty-eight, he allowed himself to be persuaded to become a candidate for the New York Assembly and was elected. Such was the fortuitous beginning of a political career which was to take him to the very threshold of the Presidency. In 1789 he was appointed attorney-general of the state, and two years later he defeated Philip Schuyler, the father-in-law of Alexander Hamilton, for United States Senator. As a member of the Senate he took a prominent part in opposing Jay's Treaty and Hamilton's financial schemes, but his most significant contribution was his leadership in the movement to abolish secrecy in Senate proceedings. Federalist aristocrats in those days conceived of the upper chamber as an American House of Lords, from which the vulgar public ought to be excluded. For three years Burr voted in every session for a resolution providing that the meetings of the Senate should be open to the public when the Senators were "engaged in their legislative capacity."⁴ The resolution was finally adopted on February 20, 1794.

By 1792 Burr had attained sufficient prominence in the Republican party to be considered as a candidate for Vice-President and actually received one electoral vote. It is noteworthy that Alexander Hamilton already regarded him as a dangerous man, an "embryo Caesar" aspiring to ride into power

⁴*Memoirs*, I, 407.

as "the head of the popular party." Hamilton thought it a "religious duty" to oppose his career.⁵ In 1796 Burr's reputation as a skillful politician and a champion of the masses was more securely established. He was widely recognized, by Federalists and Republicans alike, as the real leader of the Opposition in Congress. The Virginia Republicans, moreover, needed the support of New York if they were to win the election. Accordingly, Burr was given the second place on their ticket along with Jefferson for President. Since the Federalists won the election, their candidate, John Adams, became President, with the Vice-Presidency, in accordance with the practice of the time, going to Jefferson, who had received the second highest number of votes. Burr's total of electoral tallies was thirty.

The year following the election, Burr's career as a United States Senator came to a close. He aspired to re-election, but with the New York legislature under the command of the Federalists, his old opponent, Philip Schuyler, was chosen in his stead. Burr soon afterward returned to membership in the state Assembly. It seemed like a demotion, but he did not object, for it gave him an opportunity to rebuild his political fences. Not all of his time, however, was devoted to furtherance of personal ambitions. He sponsored bills to establish a state bankruptcy law and to abolish imprisonment for debt. He introduced a proposal to impose a special tax on woodlands and other unused lands held by their owners for speculative purposes. The idea behind it was remarkably similar to some of the schemes of Thomas Paine and Henry George for reducing private gain from the unearned increase in land values. Most significant of all, perhaps, he took a forthright position on the slavery issue in New York State. His fellow legislators seemed to prefer to deal with the problem by easy stages, and were ready to act on a bill providing merely that future children of slaves should be free. Burr insisted upon eradicating the evil by a single stroke of emancipation.⁶

⁵J. C. Hamilton, ed., *The Works of Alexander Hamilton; Comprising His Correspondence and His Political and Official Writings, Exclusive of the Federalist, Civil and Military* (New York, 1851), V, 527.

⁶*Journal of the Assembly of the State of New York, at Their Twenty-second Session, Begun and Held at the City of Albany, the ninth Day of August, 1798* (Albany, 1798).

The zenith of Burr's career was undoubtedly the presidential election of 1800. Although he was in no sense the theoretician of the Jeffersonian Revolution, he may accurately be regarded as its chief strategist and the principal architect of its fortunes. Without the votes of New York State the Republicans could not have won the election, and it is now firmly established that the man who put New York into the Republican column was Aaron Burr. The outcome of the election in the state hinged, as it frequently does, upon the result in New York City, where Burr's political machine operated at peak efficiency. For years he had been enlisting the support of the mechanics and small merchants of the city in a mighty effort to overthrow the aristocratic families that controlled the state. He found a ready instrument in the Tammany Society, founded in 1789. From the beginning it appears to have been a political club. Drawing its membership from the old Sons of Liberty, the Whigs, the small artisans, and petty freeholders, it was intended to combine the strength of the underprivileged against the Federalist aristocracy. Although Burr himself was not a member, his chief henchmen—Matthew Davis, William P. Van Ness, and John and Robert Swartwout—were all Sachems—and the Society was as completely dominated by him as though he had been the Grand Sachem himself.⁷ He apparently had only to whisper a word and his "Myrmidons," as Hamilton called them, were ready to do his bidding. Burr used them in making up accurate poll lists, in enlarging the number of Republican voters by clever but thoroughly legal devices for circumventing the property restrictions on the suffrage, in getting the voters to the polls, and in stumping the precincts and wards. So effectively did they perform their tasks that in the spring of 1800 the Republicans—or Democrats, as they were now beginning to call themselves—captured control of the legislature, a result of tremendous importance since the legislature in New York State chose the presidential electors. It is not without reason that Aaron Burr has been called "the first American politician who saw the value of compact political organization."⁸

⁷Samuel H. Wandell and Meade Minnigerode, *Aaron Burr, a Biography Written, in Large Part, from Original and Hitherto Unused Material* (New York, 1927), I, 189-94.

⁸Samuel P. Orth; quoted by Wandell and Minnigerode, *op. cit.*, I, 143.

With a victory in New York, accomplished primarily by a margin of about 250 votes in New York City, the Republicans were able to win a majority in the electoral college. But unfortunately party lines were so sharply drawn that the electoral vote resulted in a tie. The caucus of the Republican party had designated Jefferson as its candidate for President, and Burr as its candidate for Vice-President. The Constitution at that time, however, required each elector to vote for two persons and said nothing about differentiating between them as candidates for specific offices. The person who received the highest number of votes would become President, and his nearest competitor Vice-President. In the election of 1800 both Jefferson and Burr received the same number of votes, and as required by the Constitution it was left to the House of Representatives to decide between them. Most of the Federalist leaders had a preference for Burr and were determined to make him President. They regarded Jefferson as a doctrinaire radical and his competitor as a practical politician, interested chiefly in personal power and less likely to disturb the established Federalist order. But such views conflicted strongly with the opinions of Hamilton. The erstwhile Secretary of the Treasury regarded Jefferson as the safer man—not primarily, as is generally supposed, because he respected him as a man of principle, but because he thought of him as timid and by nature opposed to radical measures. True, he did speak of him as “tinctured with fanaticism,” as crafty and unscrupulous, and as “a contemptible hypocrite.” But he thought him temporizing rather than violent and well disposed toward “a large construction of the Executive authority.”⁹ Moreover, he conceived of him as the calculating type who would be likely to give higher place to self-interest than to the fulfillment of theoretical ideals. Finally, he suggested that Jefferson’s Gallicism was not to be taken too seriously. It had proceeded quite as much from the popularity of France among the American people as from firm conviction, and now that circumstances had changed, it was not improbable that it had “considerably abated.”

Burr was a man of an altogether different character. Hamilton could see him in no other light than that of a dangerous

⁹Hamilton, *Works* (J. C. Hamilton, ed.), VI, 419-20.

demagogue. He was the American Catiline, profligate, ambitious, artful, and corrupt. But Hamilton denied that Burr was a mere politician. He described him as "not very far from being a visionary." He was possessed, Hamilton declared, of a "very subtle imagination," and a mind of this type was "rarely free from ingenious whimsies." The former head of the Treasury accused Burr of citing Connecticut as an example of the success of democracy, and he declared that friends had heard him talking "perfect *Godwinism*." Even more despicable, the Tammany politician was a passionate partisan of France and had applauded the French system as "unshackling the mind, and leaving it to its natural energies." Perhaps his Gallicism, like that of Jefferson, was also based upon calculation, "for no man had trafficked more in the floating passions of the multitude"; but Burr was a greater menace, since "he was the most sanguine man in the world" and believed everything possible to ambition and determination.¹⁰

Whether Hamilton's characterizations of the two men were more than approximately accurate is a question difficult to answer. His arguments probably seemed convincing to some of the Federalists; at any rate, enough of them abandoned Burr to break the tie in favor of Jefferson. However, the tie was not actually broken until interested Federalists had approached both candidates in an effort to obtain pledges of non-interference with the status quo. Although Jefferson vigorously denied having made any promises, there is evidence that he gave certain Federalist representatives the impression that, if elected, he would not be inimical to the public credit, to the needs of commerce, to a respectable navy, and to the retention of a considerable proportion of the opposition party's jobholders in public office.¹¹ As for Burr, the opinion persists to this day that he intrigued with the Federalists to cheat Jefferson out of the Presidency. Actually, he did nothing of the sort. He refused to make any commitments, and he wrote two vigorous disclaimers, one of which was published, of any intention to compete for the higher office. It has been said that a more honorable man

¹⁰*Ibid.*, VI, 420-21.

¹¹*Ibid.*, VI, 489. See also deposition of Samuel Smith, senator from Maryland, reprinted in *Memoirs of Aaron Burr*, II, 133.

would have withdrawn entirely and would have announced that even if elected President, he would not serve. But under the constitutional requirement that the House must confine its choice to the candidates involved in the tie, this would have been equivalent to dictating how the members should vote.

Although Burr became Vice-President, he was on the verge of political ruin. In spite of the fact that early in the electoral contest Jefferson praised him and declared that he was playing an honorable and decisive role, he subsequently became suspicious. After assuming the Presidency he deprived Burr of control over the patronage in New York and encouraged the growth of a rival Republican faction under the leadership of George Clinton. Burr antagonized Jefferson also by an exasperating impartiality as presiding officer of the Senate. In January, 1802, a motion to refer a bill repealing the judiciary midnight-appointments act to a committee for amendment resulted in a tie. Burr cast the deciding vote for the affirmative, avowing that he could never resist the reference of a measure when the object was to revise it in the hope that it might suit the interests of the majority. Three years later it fell to his lot to preside over the impeachment trial of Supreme Court Justice Samuel Chase. Chase's partisan behavior on the bench was a stench in the nostrils of the Republicans, and Jefferson hoped to remove him as an object lesson to the remaining Federalist judges. Burr conducted the trial "with the dignity and impartiality of an angel, but with the rigor of a devil." Despite the fact that the Republicans had a large majority in the Senate, the impeachment failed.

The remaining events of Burr's career reflect but slightly his political opinions. In 1804 he ran for governor of New York as the candidate of an independent Republican faction. Again the Federalists sought to use him for disreputable purposes. A group in New England under the leadership of Timothy Pickering had dreams of a Northern Confederacy which would secede from the Union, now dominated by the hated Jeffersonians. New England would provide the nucleus, but to assure the success of the scheme it would be desirable to win the support of New York. It was hoped that with a disgruntled Burr

in the governor's chair, the Empire State could be swung into the Confederacy. History textbooks still leave the impression that Burr was a party to the disunion plot, but no evidence exists that he lent it any encouragement. The fact that a great many Federalists supported him was due to the disintegration of their own party. They were completely disorganized and had no candidate of their own. With their assistance he managed to carry New York City, but lost in the state as a whole to the regular Republican candidate, Morgan Lewis, who enjoyed the benedictions of both Jefferson and Hamilton.

It is frequently asserted that there was a close connection between Burr's defeat in the New York election and his duel with Hamilton. Boiling with anger, he is alleged to have sent the challenge with the deliberate purpose of ridding himself of a hated rival. But this interpretation leaves out of account a number of important considerations. Hamilton's maligning of Burr during the campaign of 1804 was simply the culmination of a long period of secret and open abuse. For twenty-two years he had been denouncing the Revolutionary colonel as a dangerous rabble-rouser and a reckless and unprincipled adventurer. But the incident which directly precipitated the challenge was not essentially political. It was the alleged use in a public address of a defamatory expression which any man who prized his reputation was bound to resent.¹² When Burr demanded to know whether the expression had actually been applied to him, Hamilton was evasive; he could not remember, and he refused to make any disavowal. If the incident should be interpreted as the basis of a challenge, he could "only regret the circumstance, and must abide the consequence."¹³ Burr might well have swallowed his pride as he had done on previous occasions; but most of Hamilton's earlier abuse had been confined to his correspondence, whereas now it was out in the open. Under the custom of the time it would have been difficult for anyone to leave a public insult unchallenged and still hold the respect of his associates.

¹²*Memoirs*, II, 294-95.

¹³Letter to Burr, June 20, 1804. Quoted in full by Allan McLane Hamilton, *The Intimate Life of Alexander Hamilton* (New York, 1910), pp. 390-91.

The duel in that day was an accepted means whereby a man of honor might seek satisfaction for a serious affront to his reputation. The list of men who did so included some of the most highly regarded public leaders in both England and America—William Pitt, Walpole, Wellington, Henry Clay, Andrew Jackson, DeWitt Clinton, Horatio Gates, Thomas Hart Benton. Alexander Hamilton's son had been killed in a duel, and Hamilton himself had acted as second to Colonel Laurens in his trial-at-arms with General Lee. Much has been made of a statement written by Hamilton on the eve of the famous encounter at Weehawken, in which he announced his intention of reserving his first fire and perhaps his second,¹⁴ but Burr had no way of knowing this. He went onto the field under the assumption that he was taking the same risks as his opponent. Stories that he spent the two weeks between the challenge and the duel practicing with pistols, and that he entered the fray attired in silk to deflect bullets are, of course, mere inventions of myth-mongers.

Indicted for murder in both New York and New Jersey, and deserted by most of his fair-weather friends, Burr looked for some new arena in which to rebuilt his fortunes. For years he had watched with increasing interest the settlement and expansion of the frontier. He had assessed more accurately than most of his contemporaries the undercurrents of restlessness and ambition in the West. Perhaps here opportunities could be found for recapturing power and fame. Maybe he could be elected to Congress from one of the new states and rise once again to a position of national leadership. More fascinating were the possibilities of organizing an expedition of Westerners for the conquest of lands from Spain. Perhaps all Mexico could be redeemed from the Spanish yoke and refashioned into a progressive American nation. No one can be sure to this day exactly what he hoped to accomplish. Perhaps he himself did not know how far his ambitions might carry him. One thing, however, is certain: he was not guilty of treason, in the sense in which that term is defined in the Constitution. No proof has ever been found that he even had treasonable intentions, although a great

¹⁴Quoted by Henry Jones Ford, *Alexander Hamilton* (New York, 1929), p. 344.

deal of mystery still enshrouds his original purposes and the methods by which they were to be carried out.

After delivering his valedictory address as presiding officer of the Senate in March, 1805, Burr spent the next year and a half in efforts to raise money and to gather recruits and supplies for his Southwestern project. He fondly hoped that his plans would be facilitated by the outbreak of war between Spain and the United States. When this hope failed to materialize, he seems to have abandoned the idea of a military expedition and to have turned his attention to organizing a peaceful settlement on the banks of the Washita River in what is now central Oklahoma. But before he could effectuate his plans he was denounced by Jefferson for illegally plotting a war against Spanish dominions. In addition to this technical charge, there were wild rumors of treason, of conspiracy to induce the Western states to secede from the Union and to cast in their lot with an empire to be conquered from Spain. There were even more lurid reports of schemes to kidnap or assassinate the President and his entire cabinet and to set Burr up as a dictator in Washington. Though most of these rumors seem to have been fabricated by adventurers in the pay of Spain and by Federalists anxious to discredit the Administration, Jefferson considered them sufficiently well founded to justify the prosecution of Burr for treason. After a long man-hunt through the forests and swamps of the South, the supposed culprit was finally apprehended and brought to trial in 1807 before the United States Circuit Court in Richmond, with Chief Justice John Marshall of the Supreme Court presiding. The hearings dragged through most of the summer and ended in a verdict of acquittal, despite a generally hostile audience in the courtroom and a jury which included members admittedly prejudiced against the accused.

A perennial optimist, Burr took passage, a few months after his trial, for Europe in the hope of persuading either the British or the French government to sponsor some project for revolutionizing Mexico or other parts of Hispanic America. He spent almost two years in England and an equal time in France, and accomplished precisely nothing. While his limited funds lasted he moved in the highest circles of European society, consorting with

duchesses and statesmen and philosophers. When he could not borrow and had nothing left to pawn, he sank into privation and misery, living in unheated garrets and almost starving. Much of his substance he wasted on women, chiefly of low degree, for amorous exploits were his one consolation for the failures and frustrations of life. In 1812 he returned to New York, resumed his law practice, and earned two thousand dollars in fees in twelve days. At the age of seventy-seven he married a widow of considerable wealth but of unsavory past. She divorced him after four months. He died on September 14, 1836, at the age of eighty years and seven months. To the end he denied that he had ever plotted the disruption of the Union, or that he had ever wished or done harm to a single human being.¹⁵

III

The primary influence which shaped the mind of Aaron Burr seems to have been Lord Chesterfield's *Letters to His Son*. It was from this source that he apparently derived his code of ethics and much of his intellectual emancipation. The *beau ideal* of the British nobleman was the young man of easy morality who cultivates the virtues of skepticism, tolerance, urbanity, and courtesy. Burr was noted above everything else for his charm of manner, his courtliness, his self-possession, and his consideration for others. No matter how vile the billingsgate of his enemies, he never retaliated in kind. His policy was not to try to defend his conduct but to "let the facts speak for themselves."¹⁶ He rarely referred to a rival or enemy but in terms of the utmost respect. While in prison awaiting trial for treason he wrote to his daughter requesting her not to give way to lamentation or recrimination.¹⁷ He seemed to have a deep appreciation of the weaknesses of human nature and on occasions defended his detractors on the ground that they were simply responding to what they had heard.¹⁸

Second only to Chesterfield as a formative influence was Voltaire. It was possibly from this source that Burr derived his con-

¹⁵*Private Journal*, I, 324-25.

¹⁶*Memoirs*, II, 196.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, II, 408.

¹⁸*Private Journal*, I, 324-25.

ception of law, which he is supposed to have defined as "that which is boldly asserted and plausibly maintained."¹⁹ It was a conception not strikingly different from some that have been set forth by radicals and relativists in the twentieth century. Neither Voltaire nor Chesterfield gave Burr much assistance in constructing a systematic philosophy, but they undoubtedly strengthened his prepossessions against dogmatism and in favor of tolerance and freedom. He deserves more credit than he is usually given for his activities in combating the repressive legislation of the 1790's. Perhaps more than anyone else he was responsible for making "Down with the Alien and Sedition Acts" a battle-cry of the Republicans.

Burr had a profound admiration for a number of the advanced thinkers who flourished in his prime and during the years of his long eclipse. In 1793 he read Mary Wollstonecraft's *Vindication of the Rights of Women*. He pronounced it a "work of genius," and from that time forth he was an ardent feminist.²⁰ During his sojourn in England he made the acquaintance of Jeremy Bentham, read his writings, and acclaimed him as "second to no one, ancient or modern, in profound thinking, in logical and analytical reasoning."²¹ He became an enthusiastic devotee of Bentham's schemes for prison reform and for the improvement of lunatic asylums, and he was active in promoting the great Utilitarian's ideas on "poor management." The idea of the Panopticon, or model prison, especially appealed to him, and he wrote that he was resolved that it should become known in America.

Burr's travels in Europe brought him into contact with interesting institutions and stimulated his enthusiasm for progressive ideas. He visited experimental schools and was impressed by the fact that the learning process was accelerated by stimulating the pupils' interest instead of coercing them by threats of corporal punishment. Of all the countries he visited he found none so worthy of admiration as Sweden. Nowhere was personal liberty so well secured or the violation of it punished so promptly. He

¹⁹Wandell and Minnigerode, *op. cit.*, I, 81.

²⁰*Memoirs*, I, 363.

²¹*Ibid.*, II, 414.

credited these results to the enlightened institutions of the Swedes, especially to their system of justice.²² He was much interested also in certain features of the new penology in France, notably the commutation of sentences for good behavior and the encouragement of prisoners to acquire skills by providing economic incentives.

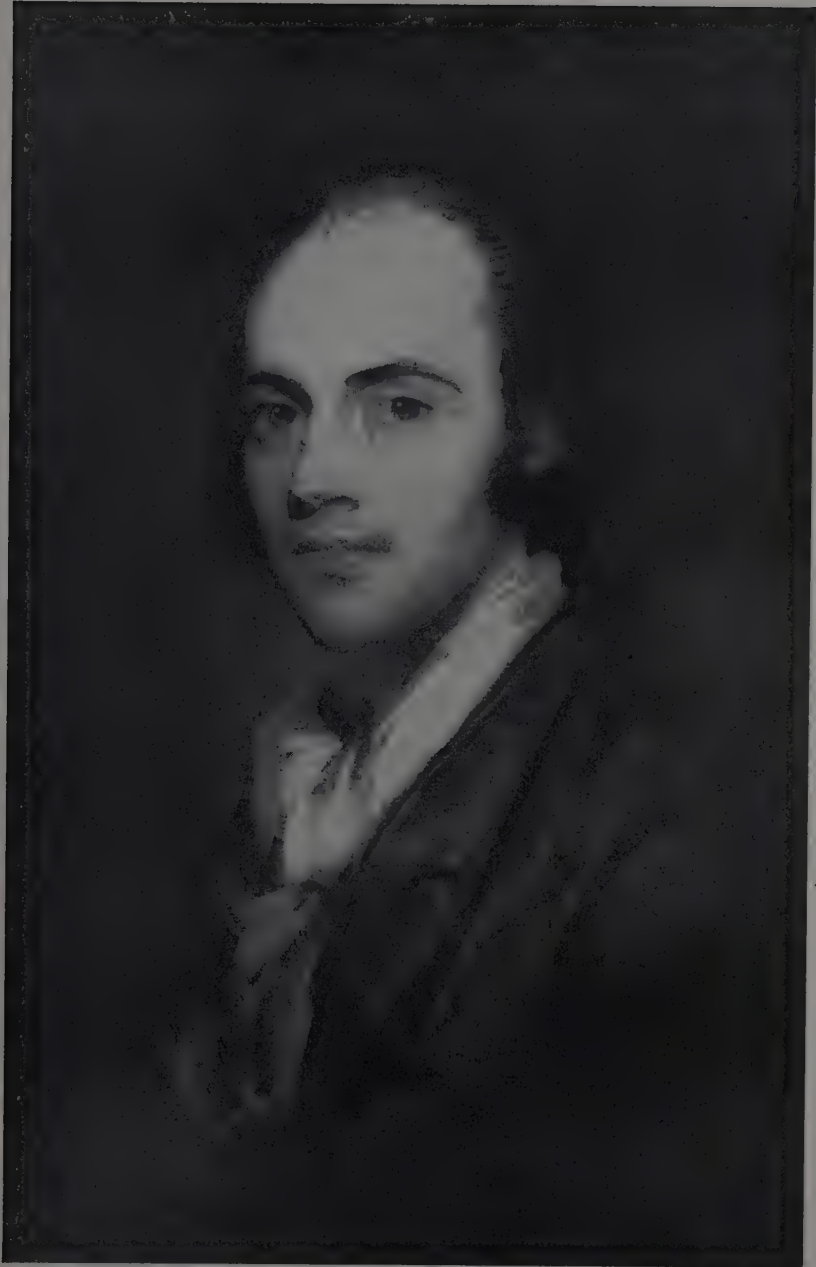
To find anywhere a comprehensive philosophy of democracy by Aaron Burr is impossible. His theories on that subject have to be pieced together from his letters and memoirs, from his activities in public affairs, and from reports of his conversations. The last, of course, are by no means completely reliable. It seems doubtful, for instance, that he really referred to Connecticut as an example of the success of the democratic theory, as Hamilton alleged, since in practice it worked to the disadvantage of the Republican party. The constitution itself, which was merely a revision of the Charter of 1662, was undoubtedly democratic, since it made the legislature the absolute repository of all power, with the governor little more than a dignified head of state, and since it provided for annual or semiannual election of all public officials. But the electoral machinery was so constructed as virtually to assure the Federalists a monopoly of power. It is also extremely doubtful that Burr ever talked "perfect Godwinism," as Hamilton accused him of doing. He records in his *Journal* that he thought Godwin's opinions on government "very strange," although he said later that he considered the second edition of *Political Justice* "a great improvement."²³ Godwin himself regretted his inability to persuade Burr that the method he had laid down "for doing good" was the best.

There can be no question that Burr was an ardent sympathizer with the French Revolution. In 1791 he wrote to his wife professing his admiration for the "essential parts" of the French constitution and for the "talents and disinterestedness of the members of the National Assembly."²⁴ He was in fact more specific in his references to the French constitution than he was with regard to the Constitution of the United States. Apparently it

²²*Private Journal*, I, 312-13.

²³*Ibid.*, II, 275-76.

²⁴*Memoirs*, I, 312.



An oil portrait of Aaron Burr (1756-1836) by Gilbert Stuart, from the New Jersey Historical Society's collection.

was lack of enthusiasm for the latter which kept him from committing himself in its favor. During the period when it was before the states for ratification, he did not violently oppose it or insist upon a return to the Articles of Confederation. He did, however, advocate amendments, for he believed that the powers of the central government, unless more strictly defined, would be so exercised as to deprive the states of every attribute of sovereignty, and that a consolidated government would ultimately take the place of the federal system. He seems to have preferred a regime of simplicity with officials directly responsible to the will of the voters. Significant perhaps in this connection was his effort while a member of the New York Assembly to change the method of selecting presidential electors, from election by the legislature to choice by direct vote of the people.

Attempts have been made to show that Burr was really a monarchist. His enemies indicted him not only for "chiming in with all the absurdities of democracy," but on occasions, also, for being a Bonaparte who would make his position hereditary if he ever became the head of the nation. Perhaps Burr did sometimes envision himself as a benevolent emperor of Mexico, but any suggestion that he approved of despotism is refuted by his attitude toward the regime of Napoleon. In 1812, in a letter to Lord Balgray, he wrote that Europe was "rebarbarizing; retrograding with rapid strides to the darkest ages of intellectual and moral degradation." Within the previous fifteen years, he declared, greater ravages had been made "on the dignity, the worth, and the rational enjoyments of human nature than in any former ten centuries."²⁵

²⁵*Private Journal*, II, 285.

Philip Freneau and Mathew Carey

PHILIP MARSH

PHILIP FRENEAU, New Jersey's "poet of the Revolution," while editing (1791-93) the famed *National Gazette* in Philadelphia, was a printer-colleague and business rival of Mathew Carey. Carey had fled from Ireland in 1779 (because of a pro-Irish pamphlet), and had printed for Benjamin Franklin in Paris. He returned home to publish two Irish newspapers, but fled again in 1784, this time to America. Lafayette met him in Philadelphia and gave him four hundred dollars, which the young man used to set himself up in the printing business. He published the *Pennsylvania Herald*, helped begin the *Columbian Magazine* (1786), and published the *American Museum* (1787-92), and became a successful book publisher, as well as a famous protective-tariff economist.

Freneau, though reared a Presbyterian and once an intended preacher, was now a deist, a believer in a unit God and a miracleless, scientific universe. He was inclined to be critical of orthodox faiths. Carey was an ardent Roman Catholic. And, though these printer-publishers were friendly, on their religious difference hangs a tale.

In the *National Gazette* for December 8, 1791, was an item, "On the present state of Religion in Scotland," which criticized the priests' power of "judging of the orthodoxy of opinions, and of condemning and punishing heresy": as a result, educated men in Scotland had begun to desert the church, disbelieve revelation and become atheistic—tendencies caused by "an obstinate adherence of the fanatical clergy to the dogmas of an antiquated creed, which does not . . . accommodate itself to the rational ideas of an enlightened age."

Presently Carey sent Freneau a letter by "Zwinglius," whose publication was delayed until Carey had the letter returned. Freneau wrote him an apologetic note (January 2, 1792):¹

Mr. Carey

The piece you left with me signed Zwinglius would have appeared in

THE WRITER: Dr. Marsh, of Miami University, is well known as a student of Philip Freneau. Among his numerous articles on Freneau are several which have appeared in the PROCEEDINGS.

¹Property of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Monday's paper had you thought proper to leave it. The reason of its not appearing on Thursday, was that part of the paper being previously filled up, in which we place publications of a speculative nature.—I had sent up to the office a note, for insertion in Thursdays paper, announcing the appearance of *Zwinglius*, together with another signed *Verax* on Monday, which was lost by the Compositor.—Zwinglius was nearly composed when you sent for it.—

P. freneau

Saturday, Jan. 2d. 1792.

On January 12, 1792, Freneau threw another brickbat at organized religion, this time at Catholicism. Quoting as from "Paris, October 12," he presented a piece apparently with an editorial introduction, "with a view to give mankind an idea how greatly they have been, and still are (in some places) imposed upon by ecclesiastical avarice and cunning." There follows a list of papal indulgences for sins and their prices, including one of 86 pounds 12 shillings for "dragging a murderer from the church where he had taken refuge," another of 6 pounds 6 shillings for "a priest who takes a concubine, and wishes to be dispensed from living according to church rules," one of 55 pounds 8 shillings for "him who lays with a woman in church," a price of 67 pounds 10 shillings for "general absolution from all sins," and 337 pounds for "a king or a queen who wish to enjoy the same privileges, as if they had made a journey to Rome."

This attack aroused Zwinglius to a sarcastic retort in the *National Gazette* for January 19, with a Protestant "List of Fines." For "inventing any lies, however abominable or atrocious, to blacken the Papists," the fine was one penny; for "setting fire to a Popish church," two pennies; and "if the Congregation are burned in it," the fine was two and a half pennies. The fine "for using the sign of the cross" was forty pounds, and for "publishing Popish books" one hundred pounds. To the fines were added indulgences—"for ravishing one or more Nuns, killing the Pope or any number of Bishops not less than 12, a plenary indulgence to go off to Heaven on full gallop."

In Freneau's *Gazette* for January 23, "Verus" replied to "A Catholic," who evidently had criticized a legislator for comparing lotteries with papal indulgences as a way of raising money. Verus asserted that a book had been published two hundred years before "by the authority of the then Pope, with a long list of in-

dulgencies, and the prices affixed to them. An account of this book may be seen in Guthrie's geographical grammar . . ." The writer refers to the Bible (St. Paul) and a book by Du Moulin, and says that obviously Zwinglius has forged his "pretended Protestant price current."

Aside from the fact that "Verus" sounds very like Editor Freneau, there is another Carey-Freneau note offering support for the ascription. This message (undated but related to an NG piece on January 2, 1792) reads as follows:² "Be so obliging as to lend me for half an hour some Books (perhaps Guthries Geography will answer) . . . P. freneau." It is not unreasonable that Freneau was relying on a book borrowed from Carey.

Now Carey—or rather, Zwinglius—swung back into action, this time in the *Federal Gazette* for January 27, commenting on Guthrie's ignorance or illiberality in propagating "such a scandalous lie . . . one of the many shameful forgeries." At the same time he cheerfully admitted that his Protestant list was a fiction.

On January 30, "Verax," whose December contribution had been lost by the compositor, now appeared in the *National Gazette*. He scoffed at Verus' remarks about Catholic indulgences referring (as Verus had done) to Cardinal Bellarmine and Saint Paul.³ Verax sounds very much like Zwinglius—and Carey may well have written the letters of both.

On February 15, in Andrew Brown's *Federal Gazette*, Zwinglius spoke once more, now reproaching Verus for misquoting him, but resigning the task of debate to Verax. By now, apparently Freneau had wearied of the argument. Possibly aware of his own insecure footing, and having no desire to antagonize his friend Carey further, he subsided into silence—at least on matters of religion, and Catholicism particularly. Meanwhile, the shrewd Mathew Carey probably was well aware that he had been crossing swords with Editor Freneau all along.

²In the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

³Verax argues, "The catholic doctrine concerning indulgences, neither means the remission of sin, nor a licence to commit sin, but a release from the canonical penances . . . By an indulgence, the truly pious may obtain remission of temporal punishment." Verax went on to assert that "neither Bellarmine nor any other catholic divine, ever understood by an indulgence, a permission or licence to commit sin." Verax seemed to be well versed in the subject, in contrast to Verus.

Hunterdon County in the First World War

HUBERT G. SCHMIDT

THIS paper is an attempt to depict the reactions of one limited area, Hunterdon County, New Jersey, to the challenges of our first major foreign war in modern times. Aside from the story's interest for its own sake, it seems useful to portray a single community—one which was typical of much of America—as it responded to a struggle which caught by surprise most of the people of a long-isolated nation. A somewhat lengthy description is given of the county just before and during the approach of war. This picture will explain and make clearer, it is hoped, certain qualities and attitudes of the residents which conditioned their answers to the problems of war. Among the characteristics thus apparent are sturdy independence, resentment toward curtailment of freedom of action, regional centering of interest and loyalty, lack of comprehension of world affairs, naivete, gregariousness, love of simple excitement, impetuous idealism, fundamental progressivism, emotional patriotism, tendency to merge religion with seemingly desirable ends, and stubborn determination to see things through once they were started. It is the writer's belief that these traits were not unique to Hunterdon County in that period.*

THE WRITER graduated from the University of Chicago, received his A.M. degree there and his Ph.D. from Rutgers University. His book *Rural Hunterdon* was published in 1946, and he edited for republication in 1948 Andrew D. Mellick's well-known *Story of an Old Farm*, which appeared under the title *Lesser Crossroads*. He is the author of historical articles in Illinois and New Jersey publications, as also a forthcoming one in *Agricultural History*. Dr. Schmidt joined the Rutgers University faculty in 1940, and is now associate professor of history at the University's Newark College of Arts and Sciences. On leave during 1949-52, he served in Germany with the Department of the Army and the State Department, for which he wrote five monographs on German post-war economic developments under American influence.

*Statistical statements in this article are taken from federal and state census figures. Except where specific credit is given, other information is taken from the files of three Flemington newspapers, the *Hunterdon County Democrat*, the *Hunterdon Republican*, and the *Democrat-Advertiser*.

I. BACKGROUND: THE PRE-WAR YEARS

Hunterdon County, New Jersey, in the years preceding American entry into the First World War, was an area in which agriculture was the principal pursuit and in which the people were predominantly rural in outlook. The census of 1910 classed 26,219 persons, or seventy-eight per cent of the population, as rural. Only the 4657 inhabitants of the city of Lambertville and the 2693 of the village of Flemington were called "urban." If to these had been added the 1545 people of High Bridge, an industrial village, the proportion of urban to rural population would have been approximately one to three.

The county had not been untouched by the twin forces of industrialization and urbanization, but their influence had been rather feeble, and was seemingly on the wane. The population of Lambertville declined by 359 between 1905 and 1910 and by 57 more before 1915. Flemington, which had grown rapidly during the first years of the century, added 132 persons between 1905 and 1910, but lost 58 of them during the next five years. High Bridge, which was something of an exception, increased from 1392 in 1905 to 1545 in 1910 and to approximately 1700 in 1915. It is clear, however, that the urban-industrial influence was not as yet dominant in Hunterdon County.

As elsewhere in agricultural New Jersey, a considerable proportion of the population of Hunterdon County lived in villages. Bloomsbury, Clinton, Frenchtown, Hampton, Stockton, and Milford had from six hundred to one thousand inhabitants each in 1910, and their combined population was something over five thousand people. Available figures for three of them from 1905 to 1910 and for five of them from 1910 to 1915 indicate that their populations were practically stationary, with the exception of Hampton, a railroad town, which was in a serious decline. There were some small factories in these villages, but their chief economic function was that of service centers for the agricultural populations about them. This was even more true of the numerous smaller villages and crossroad hamlets.

In 1909, there were in the county 2907 farms, totaling 249,474 acres, of which about nine-tenths was improved farm land. The

average farm had an acreage of 86.2, and was officially valued, with improvements, at \$5200. Three hundred ninety-three of the farms were less than 20 acres in size, and 434 more were under 50 acres. The greater part of the farming population, however, lived on farms of the next two classifications. Farms ranging from 50 to 100 acres in size totaled 990, and those from 100 to 175 acres numbered 925. There were only 140 farms in the category from 175 to 250 acres, and only twenty-five farms of larger size. Only two of the latter were larger than 500 acres.

The degree to which farmers owned their own farms was astonishingly high. Two thousand forty-seven of them were full owners. As compared with the number of farms, this was over seventy per cent, and of course some farmers owned more than one farm. Over half of the farmer-owners held their land without mortgage indebtedness. The farmer-owners held 62 per cent of all farm land, while 611 tenants operated 24.2 per cent on a cash or share basis. Most of the remainder was accounted for by fifty-four farm managers, who tended, on the average, 126 acres each. The typical farmer in Hunterdon County at this time was thus the independent owner of a medium sized farm.

The scale of agricultural operations was even more modest than the relative smallness of the farms would indicate. In 1909 the average farm herd of cattle was nine, practically all dairy cattle, and produced \$350 worth of dairy products per year, most of it in the form of fluid milk or cream. The average farm had three or four sheep, eight hogs, four horses or mules, about one hundred twenty chickens. Very few farmers had tractors.

Crop yields were low, even for New Jersey. The average Hunterdon County farm in 1909 grew 11.5 acres of corn, yielding about 33.7 bushels per acre; 7 acres of wheat, averaging 15.5 bushels; 8.2 acres of oats, averaging 20 bushels; 2.5 acres of rye, averaging 12 bushels; and in addition 2 acres of buckwheat and smaller amounts of barley and potatoes. Nearly one-sixth of the total cultivated acreage was in hay crops, usually timothy or timothy and clover mixed. The great proportion of timothy reflected the large horse population. Fruit-raising, though still of some consequence, was declining very rapidly in importance.

The day of the specialist in agriculture had not yet arrived, though there were indications of its coming. Small-scale general farming was the rule, and traditional farming practices were usual. The time had not yet come when the operator of a farm had to be something of a capitalist. Though a substantial part of farm valuations was tied up in permanent improvements, farm values were not very high. The average valuation for farm machinery and equipment was estimated as only \$400. It was still not uncommon for a renter to climb the ladder to farm ownership.

In general, the farmers of Hunterdon County in this period were conservative in viewpoint, devoted to private property, industrious without being overly ambitious, and rural and local in outlook. Economic blessings were widely distributed, and a medium standard of living was usual. A public official of the period, who must remain anonymous, has summed it up as follows: "Farmers here before the war were a conservative group, entirely traditional in outlook and rather wary about innovations. Most of them had inherited their farms through several generations. Their rather small farm incomes were often supplemented by their having money out at interest, which had also been inherited in most cases. Frugal and largely self-sufficient, their chief interests lay in their farms and their families. Farming for them was a way of life. Farm values were not speculative, but were based on the ability to produce. Few farms changed hands in that period. The average farmer of that time may seem to have been a little smug, but, everything considered, his life was a pretty decent one."

A sampling of the social activities and the social concerns of the people of the county in the years just before our entrance into the war will serve as background for the war period itself. It should be made clear that the direct effect of the hostilities in Europe was surprisingly small. People were conscious of the conflict, and some of them followed the course of the war by reading New York and Philadelphia newspapers. But the war seemed far away and of little personal concern except in an economic sense. Chief interests were local and immediate. News of real consequence dealt in such items as the butchering

of a huge porker at Mountainville, the purchase of a pedigreed bull by a West Amwell farmer, the auctioning of New York cattle at Three Bridges, the appearance of an epidemic of hog cholera in the north part of the county, the spread of the chestnut blight, the participation of Hunterdon County poultrymen in a state egg-laying contest at Vineland, the demonstrating of tractors at the Flemington Fair, and the registration of a pedigreed herd of cattle at Milford. The restriction of horizon which is evident in such news coverage was shown in many of the social activities of the people.

Participation in the activities of agricultural organizations was widespread. The Hunterdon County Board of Agriculture at that time was relatively small, but it wielded a considerable influence. It had had an uphill fight in introducing better farming methods, and was only now making some progress against the general inertia. At its meetings, lectures were given and discussions were held on technical and more general subjects. In co-operation with the State Department of Agriculture, it gave county institutes each year at scattered points. At one such meeting, held at Lebanon in January, 1917, there were lectures on the following subjects: "Alfalfa," "Hot House Lambs," "Home Grown Feeds and their Relation to Cheaper Milk Production," "Good Citizenship," and "The Country Church and Its Relation to Agriculture." The more active members of the Board were pushing the idea of having a farm demonstrator, but opposition was as yet too strong for them to succeed.

The various co-operative marketing groups were on the down grade because of the decline in fruit raising. Nevertheless, the one at Lebanon marketed forty thousand bushels of farm produce for its members in 1916. Many of the old vigilant societies, originally groups for the running down of horse thieves and for the maintenance of mutual theft insurance, were still functioning, but chiefly as social groups which held annual dinners and entertainments for members and their guests.

The Patrons of Husbandry, commonly known as the Grange, had at this time in the county eleven local units, with several

hundred members. Many Grangers belonged to the County or Pomona Grange as well as to their own local group.

The Grange organization had gained a new lease on life within recent years, and at this time constituted the most potent institutional force among the county's farmers. Grange meetings were largely social and recreational but did not neglect the practical. On one occasion, the Grand View Grange listened to a lecture on the subject, "Does It Pay to Keep Pure Bred Hogs?" and at another had a demonstration showing the use of serum for hog cholera.

A like infusion of bread-and-butter topics was shown at the Rural Life Conference held at Flemington in March, 1916. Among a series of lectures on "Rural Life and Rural Living" was one on the subject of "The Poultry Possibilities of Hunterdon County." Despite a promising start, the Rural Life Conference movement soon came to an abrupt end.

Organizations centering in the villages were particularly numerous, and many of them included farm people in their membership. In the larger centers, the Kiwanis and Rotary clubs gave voice to the more prominent business men. The secret fraternal groups had a wider membership, and in most communities held a prominent place in the social picture. In Flemington in 1916, there were twelve such fraternal orders, each meeting weekly or fortnightly. Even as small a village as Quakertown organized a "P.O. of A. Camp" in that year, with forty-three charter members. Other active organizations on a county-wide or local basis included the D.A.R., the S.A.R., the W.C.T.U., the P.T.A., the Housewives' League, the Needleworkers' Guild, the Women's Clubs, the Ladies' Aid groups, and the missionary societies. The time was soon to come when the social force back of these organizations would be harnessed for the winning of a war.

The numerous churches of the county played an important part in the lives of most of the people. Regular church services were varied by having special features, such as talks by returning missionaries and speeches by visiting lecturers. A substantial part of the population attended Sunday School and belonged to the numerous church organizations, which in turn

sent delegates to the periodic meetings of their county groups. Three such county-wide organizations which commanded considerable attention were the Hunterdon County Sunday School Association, the Hunterdon County Christian Endeavor Society, and the Hunterdon County Bible Society. At the centennial meeting of the last-named organization in 1916 at Larison's Corner, it was found that there were twenty-one persons present who had attended the fiftieth meeting of the Society in 1866 at the same place.

The camp meeting as a religious device had ceased to be important, but the revival meeting had been retained with all of its old-time vigor. Reports of revival meetings indicate something of a religious resurgence in the winter of 1915-16. For example, a revival meeting at Clinton led to the conversion of 150 persons. Much of the religious activity of this winter was connected with efforts of the cohorts of Billy Sunday, the evangelist, who would himself conduct a huge meeting at Trenton in January. Already in November, his "trail hitters," working in teams, were taking over church services and prayer meetings in various parts of Hunterdon County, as elsewhere within a thirty-mile radius of Trenton. Local committees, known as "blocks," "cottage meetings," "union services," and "community efforts" were the order of the day.

On January 13, nearly five hundred Hunterdon County persons boarded a special train for Trenton in order to hear Billy Sunday preach. When the Trenton revival was over, evangelical "teams" began to work the territory systematically. One such group was the Asher-Rockwell-Meyers team, which conducted its "campaign" at Flemington from February 2 to February 20. No other church services were held in Flemington during this period. The number of converts and "reconstructions" ran into hundreds, most of whom soon joined the local church bodies. The team next went to Lambertville, where the harvest numbered 491 professed conversions and over 400 "re-consecrations."

Such evangelism had its pecuniary side. At the close of the Lambertville campaign, Asher received six hundred dollars as a free-will offering, besides numerous gifts from business men,

schools, and organizations. Rockwell and Miss Meyers were also rewarded handsomely for their musical efforts, and of course received profits from the special song books and other literature sold at all Billy Sunday revivals. With this series of religious revivals in the forefront of the news, people of Hunterdon County apparently had little time to consider the European War toward which the nation was rapidly drifting.

The movement to modernize the schools as to curriculum and physical plant was waging a hard battle with the forces of inertia and frugality during this period. Hunterdon County parents, who had believed in public school education for generations, sent nearly six thousand children off to school each morning. But innovations and the increasing costs which they entailed met with bitter opposition, particularly from farm residents. The situation was complicated by the system of local government, which permitted the villages to set themselves off as boroughs, thus throwing the full burden of rural schools on farm taxation. In the case of Bethlehem Township, the administration of the township finances had reached an impasse, partly because of the secession of Bloomsbury as a borough. During the 1915-16 school year, state inspectors condemned all of the Township's school buildings as being unsatisfactory. A special election was held during the summer, but a projected bond issue was turned down. Therefore no action was taken to change the situation, and school was held during the following year in the same buildings. At one school, two teachers taught in the same room in an attempt to instruct seventy pupils. State officials now threatened to withhold the Township's share of state aid for the year unless something remedial was done.

Despite the handicaps, progressive groups felt that they were gaining headway. The county superintendent of schools, on his part, initiated a "Visit the Schools Week," and encouraged school exhibits and teaching demonstrations for parent audiences. Parent-Teacher Associations, Home and School Leagues, and other groups constantly attempted to stir up interest in improvements. The county press supported the movement by an occasional editorial and gave considerable space to school news.

For example, the *Republican* at Flemington in November, 1915, reprinted an article from *Mother's Day* in which the school system of Gary, Indiana, was held up as a model. The programs at the county teachers' institutes indicated a desire to improve the schools and at the same time to integrate them with everyday life. One program in 1915 included lecturers on the following diverse subjects: "Relating the Rural Schools to Farm and Home Life," "Typical Problems of Instruction in the High School," "The Consolidated School," "Insects that Affect the Garden, the Orchard, and the Household," and "The Teaching of Hygiene and Safety Motivation in Reading."

High school attendance in Hunterdon County was on the increase. In 1915-16, the county had five four-year high schools and one two-year high school, with a combined enrollment of 629 students. A particularly hard problem was that of transportation for students, chiefly because the costs fell on the already impoverished local school officials. An example from Tewksbury Township will show the difficulties which were involved. For some years, the dozen or so high school students in the New Germantown-Whitehouse area had been sent to Somerville High School by a bus-train connection. However, in 1915-16 a special bus was chartered to take them to the High Bridge High School instead. Parents were soon up in arms over the long ride in a poorly heated, poorly ventilated, not very regular conveyance. The school board wished to revive the old plan, but the county superintendent of schools was opposed. In a spectacular hearing at Whitehouse Station, a state arbiter decided in favor of the school board and parents.

A movement was under way to give less time to traditional subjects, and particularly to introduce those of domestic science and agriculture. This plan was soon to win an easy victory as a result of the war. The teaching of music in the high schools had also created some special problems. At this particular time, teachers and school boards were becoming enthusiastic over the use of phonograph records to teach music appreciation. Emphasis on music was evident in the "entertainment courses" of the high schools. That at Flemington in 1915-16 included performances by the Mendelsohn Sextette, the Stratford Opera

Company, and the Fischer Shipp Company. The music provided showed a preference on the part of the public, or at least of those who arranged the programs, for comic opera, and particularly for Gilbert and Sullivan. Public interest in the various problems of the growing high schools made it apparent that enthusiasm for secondary education was a part of the educational trend.

The efforts toward general cultural improvement, although somewhat haphazard, indicated a striving toward enlightenment. Some, at least, of the programs of the various organizations showed real merit. Usually in the form of lectures, their chief fault was that they gave little chance for active participation. A partial list of such programs given at Flemington during a short period will illustrate the fare which was provided. A talk by a missionary who had returned from China after seventeen years was particularly well received. A lecturer for the W.C.T.U. spoke on the subject, "American Rum in Foreign Lands"; a speaker imported by the Woman's Club gave a lecture on birds and animals; a teacher from Drew Seminary discussed the subject of Robert Burns; and a number of lectures illustrated with stereoptican slides were given from time to time. During another period at Flemington, a Chautauqua Lyceum brought culture with a capital "C." Within three days, fifteen "courses" were provided for the large paying audiences. The dominant members of the groups sponsoring these activities were also active in the Flemington Library Association which operated the Flemington Public Library. Less populous communities did not have the same advantages as Flemington and Lambertville, but they too had their intellectually restless groups, who imported the best talent which their villages could afford.

A less serious note was struck by the entertainment provided in the moving picture theaters, which were to be found in all of the chief population centers. The program of one theater during a few summer weeks included "The Man of the Hour," "Winning the Futurity," "The Squaw Man," "One in a Million (Mary Pickford)," "The Adventures of Kitty Cobb," the spectacular "Fire and Sword," and "The Christians (with an "all-star Vitagraph cast")." During fair weather in summer, pic-

tures were shown outside. Educators were casting an eye at the movie as an educational technique. The Flemington High School used the proceeds from a dramatic performance to buy a movie projector. Among its first pictures was a film of "Pilgrim's Progress." The movie was coming in as popular entertainment, but as yet did not play the part in people's lives that the talkie does today.

Other social activities had, during the summers, a serious rival in baseball. Nearly every community had its team. The newspapers tried to give full coverage to as many games as possible. Their reports were given in "sports style," of which the following sentences are characteristic: "Steve pitched a nice game, but the catcher could not hold him"; "Willie Porter had a fit when he failed to hit in the Annandale game"; "The Triangles and the umpire failed to agree a couple of times up at Lebanon on Saturday"; and "He can sure throw the bases." Baseball was still largely an amateur game, and was well patronized by people who understood it. Baseball rivalries were intense, and it was real news when Flemington beat Lambertville or Stanton beat Readington. Everyone was interested when Flemington's "first team" spent the proceeds of a benefit game by attending a professional game in Brooklyn and then paying a visit to the Hippodrome and the Great White Way. Spectator interest in baseball was so great that even the races at the Flemington fairground suffered when there was a ball game in the neighborhood. Other sports, particularly bowling and tennis, were vital to smaller groups, but it was baseball which was discussed around the stoves all winter. The editor of the *Democrat* at Flemington gave a useless admonition when he wrote, "Keep up the baseball spirit, and don't let Hunterdon County go to the dogs in the baseball world."

The Flemington Fair each August was an event of county-wide interest. Frankly for amusement, the fair specialized in horse racing and in the carnival and circus attractions of its midway. Some features, as the human cannon-ball act, were so popular that they were repeated each year by the same performers. Three days of horse racing, for rather substantial prizes, and a day of auto races were the chief drawing cards for bring-

ing in rural people, although farm exhibits were an essential part of the fair. The thousands who thronged to see the races each year were in no way discouraged that jockeys and drivers were often hurt and sometimes killed. The best-known drivers and trainers received a good press. In 1916, a member of the Flemington Band composed a march, "full of vim and snap," and named it "Iwana" after a local trotter which was then having a winning streak on far-distant tracks.

Exhibits of the latest commercial products played an important part at the fair. For example, the Aeolian Company in 1915 sent four "classic and costume Dancers" to demonstrate its player piano, the "Pianola," and its phonograph, the "Vocalion." Since the fair drew large crowds, it was a good place for such advertising. But, in general, the appeal of the fair was the same as that of the occasional circuses and carnivals which visited the villages of the county. Its promoters, in their own words, "knew how to please the people" with "clean and up-to-date" entertainment.

Less exciting, but of a more sociable nature, were the many church suppers, harvest festivals, school suppers, etc., which were given for the benefit of one good work or another. A substantial meal at such an event cost in that day twenty-five or thirty cents. A sociable person who did not like home fare could attend some such event nearly every evening of the week, especially in the period between harvest time and spring planting. A sampling of such affairs during the last few weeks of 1916 shows the variety of events: an oyster supper held at the Cherryville parsonage; chicken suppers at the Bethlehem Presbyterian Church and the Three Bridges Reformed Church; a "Dutch supper" by the Ladies' Aid at Quakertown; a "cobweb social" at the Clover Hill school; the annual clambake of the Flemington Fire Department; and the pie, cake and biscuit sale of the Willing Workers Bible Class of the Flemington Baptist Church.

The numerous local talent entertainments had the advantage of combining participation, service, and social opportunity. Band concert night was a weekly event in most of the villages during the summer. One editor remarked, "We are sure of plenty of

good music and sure of meeting everybody if we go." On one occasion at Lambertville, noisy boys broke up the concert; later, however, the band marched at the head of a Hallowe'en parade which probably included the same young rowdies. There were other musical events, particularly during the winter, such as the regular series of organ recitals at the Flemington Presbyterian Church. In Frenchtown, a yearly event of wide interest was the annual choral concert.

Local dramatic groups were also well patronized. The "annual fair" of the Wishbone Club of Whitehouse in July, 1915, brought in receipts of \$1155. This group had more than local popularity because of its vaudeville acts. A nearby group, the Cushetunk Colonists, gave more serious plays. Their annual Christmas entertainments were particularly well received by the public. Epworth League groups in various villages also put on occasional plays. That of Quakertown in February, 1917, gave a farce entitled, "Fun on the Podunk Limited." On occasion, an impromptu cast for a play would be made up by some enterprising person quite outside the circle of regular organizations. A fake breach of promise trial put on in Flemington, with the county judge, the prosecuting attorney, several lawyers, and a number of other citizens as actors, was the talk of the town for some time. In general, home talent theatricals acted as a leaven for rural life. After a very successful local talent street carnival at Frenchtown, one editor wrote, "It has roused the little village from its habitual quiet. It has promoted a desire among its people to work for the general good. It has brought about sociability which never before existed." Little did anyone realize how soon war was to stir up this sleepy society to a fever of activity.

Y.M.C.A. activities represented in a sense a missionary effort from outside, and in general seemed to lack the spontaneity which those of other groups possessed. For instance, the organization made elaborate plans on one occasion for a "play festival" at Sergeantsville. In the afternoon, games for the young were to include three deep, tag ball, volley ball, basket relay, and dodge ball, while quoits and similar games would entertain older persons. The evening program included refreshments, Vic-

trola music, and some speeches. The attendance at its height was about sixty. Some of the games were played, but a baseball game soon became the center of attention. The evening program seems to have come to a dead end when a Billy Sunday disciple gained the floor. In its professed desire "to bring back to the country the old time spirit of play and to help to give a larger social life in rural sections," the "Y" was bravely fighting against the current, but there were those who felt that it was filling a real need in rural life by its county conferences, its athletic programs, its sight-seeing tours to New York, and its religious and social activities.

In this search for what filled the minds of the people of the county in the period before our entrance into the war, one cannot neglect the infantile paralysis scare of 1916. The mystery surrounding the disease added to the terror, and a fast-spreading rumor that it was carried from person to person on money did nothing to abate it. The scare started in August before time for the schools to open, and as a result there was no school until October. Many churches had no services during this period, and most of the "harvest homes" and other "socials" were called off. After the first death in Lambertville, a rigid quarantine was enforced. Band concerts were stopped by the Flemington Board of Health. The attendance at the Flemington Fair was badly curtailed by strictly-enforced rules which prevented children under sixteen from attending and which closed the midway shows. Even more important was the reluctance of public and performers to appear. Each center of population took its own rigid precautions, including highway inspections, in order to prevent outside children from coming into its area. Much of this activity was caused by fear that the general exodus of children from New York City would spread the disease. All told, there were twenty-eight cases of infantile paralysis in scattered parts of the county. The epidemic and scare were over in time for the Billy Sunday revivals.

This was a period of revolutionary change in transportation. Automobiles were still so new that many horses still did not accept them, and many young swains still sported rubber-tired buggies with electric lights and "automobiles seats." It was

still news when a prominent citizen bought a new Hudson Super-Six. But already a generation of young men was growing up who could not harness and "hitch up" a horse. Motor power was rapidly replacing the horse on rural mail routes and other delivery routes. The "auto bus" was coming more and more into general use. In August, 1916, a bus began making four trips daily between Flemington and Lambertville.

The high-wheeled "puddle jumpers" were becoming a part of the American scene. The haste of many families to start on their Sunday joy rides was already hurting church attendance, and Sunday picnics, with resulting roadside litter, were becoming a common thing in summer. The editor of the *Democrat* noted the "heavy automobile traffic, composed of automobiles of all sizes, uses, and makes." Not being an automobilist himself, he was concerned about speeding on the Flemington streets. An unsuccessful effort was made at this time to pass a state law preventing women from driving, but Hunterdon County editors were too canny to support it.

The first day of Flemington Fair each year was Ford Day, and a parade of "lizzies" bounced its way through Flemington to celebrate the event. The local agent for the Chevrolet, "a coming little car," was delighted that his car won one of the races in 1916. The Lambertville agent for the Studebaker at the same time fitted his advertising to the terrain of the county by referring to his car as the "Master of the Hills." Filling stations were now a part of the roadside scenery, and every village had its garage. The day of repairing a car with home tools and baling wire was passing. One garage advertised proudly, "No part is too intricate for our repairing skill."

The automobile brought with it the problem of financing and building roads which could carry motor travel. The resistance of rural groups to increasing road taxes was changing. As the editor of the *Republican* at Flemington put it, "The farmer is like any other man in wishing to get the most out of life he can, and the influence of mud and ruts is particularly vexing to him if he is a motorist." Rural interest was shown by the creation in the Hunterdon County Pomona Grange of a road committee, whose duty was that of "searching for ways

and means to improve our roads." Under such pressure, local governmental units were hastening to avail themselves of state aid under the terms of the recently passed Herrick Act.

In November, 1915, a public meeting of nearly five hundred taxpayers gathered at the county courthouse at Flemington to listen to explanations by the state road commissioner. Local groups came armed with petitions asking for the surfacing of more than five hundred miles of roads within the county. For instance, the Northern Hunterdon County Good Roads Association was urging the macadamizing of the road from Califon to High Bridge. News of the progress of roads under construction constantly appeared in the county's newspapers. A typical item read as follows: "The macadam road from Hoffman's to Lower Valley, now under construction is having the top dressing placed on it, and is expected to be completed by October 1." The road program entered politics in 1916, when the first Republican member of the Board of Freeholders in years was elected. As one editor explained, any Board member was liable to make himself unpopular with all areas not getting the new roads which they wanted. The situation in Hunterdon County was made difficult by the fact that there were no large cities to help share the local portion of the costs of the new program.

It cannot be said that our entrance into the war caught the people of Hunterdon County entirely unaware. Yet it is clear that, at least until shortly before this event, their knowledge of the war was limited and their interest slight. One indication of this is the almost total disregard for the carnage in Europe by the local press. It is true that the editors considered it their chief function to bring their readers local news. But had there been reader demand, it might well have caused a far greater notice of the war both in news items and in the editorials. Public and press, it seemed, were singularly unconcerned with the European tragedy and unaware until nearly the last moment that there was danger of our involvement.

The editors did occasionally use items concerning the war which were taken from other papers. These were generally used as filler, and were seldom of any consequence. Often they were so suspended in space as to seem unreal. A typical article

of this kind was one taken from the *Chicago Daily News* by the *Democrat-Advertiser* on July 8, 1915. Purporting to be written from Petrograd, the article bore the following headlines: "Takes War Lightly. Russia Shows Little Evidence of the Great Conflict. Determination to Win and Break German Militarism is the Spirit of the Czar's People. No End to His Armies." Filled with cliché after cliché, the article was a potboiler, pure and simple. The following sentence is a sample of its style and content: "Great, mysterious, brooding Russia—the unfathomable Russia—goes about her daily ways with a nonchalance that is baffling to the Western mind."

European personalities did at times break through the news barrier. For instance, on one occasion the *Democrat-Advertiser* reprinted, without giving the source, an item entitled, "How the Kaiser Appears." Furthermore, the war provided a background for a number of syndicated serial stories which appeared in the local press. Readers must have gained fantastic ideas about the war from such literary trash as "The Czar's Spy; the Mystery of a Silent Love," purportedly written by one Chevalier William Le Queux and copyrighted by the Smart Set Publishing Company. This story appeared in the *Democrat-Advertiser* during several weeks of the spring of 1915. War stories in this form were, however, apparently unable to compete successfully for reader interest with Westerns and tales of the Far North.

At the end of 1916, the editor of the *Hunterdon County Democrat* decided that he had not given the war sufficient attention. In one issue he attempted to summarize the military and naval events of the past year. His product was a mere catalogue of events without explanations, and filled with unpronounceable names, no doubt meaningless to the average reader. This editor's own interest in the war seems to have been rather casual. On one occasion, his idea of an interesting news item was one telling about the operation performed on donkeys so as to make them voiceless in front line service. Possibly the interest of his readers in the war was no deeper than his own.

The economic effects of the war were, of course, apparent to all. War orders for horses had reduced the supply within the county so that constant shipments from the West were made

necessary. The steel works at High Bridge were booming as a result of war requirements. The shad fishers of the Delaware were drawn away to the Du Pont munition plants, and farm hands and even farmers themselves were leaving the farms to work in steel mills and other factories affected by the war. Rising costs of labor and feed were causing dairy farmers to protest loudly that fluid milk prices were too low. Even the barbers of Flemington felt that they must advance their prices to 15 cents for a shave and 25 cents for a haircut. The economic effects of a distant war were apparent enough, and people generally were alert to the opportunities which were presented. That they did not see the deeper implications or realize the ultimate danger to themselves seems today a little astonishing.

There were, of course, exceptions to the rule. A teachers' institute speaker in November, 1915, spoke on the subject: "The War; Why It Happened: Are There Any Hopes That It May Never Happen Again?" There was a series of lectures about the war at the Larison's Corner Reformed Church early in 1917, and occasionally there were other such speeches. In January, 1917, the Flemington High School had a series of talks illustrated by stereoptican slides. But the war was a faraway thing, hardly touching the life of the average citizen, in that day before radio news flashes, news reels, and general interest in foreign affairs. Only with our participation did it become important and real.

There was considerably more interest and understanding of the difficulties with Mexico. Most people had read about that country, at least in their grade school histories, and the local newspapers followed the situation, particularly as there were Hunterdon County men among the National Guardsmen at the Border. Editorial attitudes toward our Mexican policy varied from complete endorsement by the *Democrat-Advertiser* to condemnation of it by the *Hunterdon County Republican* as being too soft. The *Democrat* stated its opinion that President Wilson was "determined that the citizens of America's sister republic shall be permitted to work out their own freedom and self government." The people of Hunterdon County gave the New Jersey Soldiers' Relief League \$475.48 "for aid to the brave soldiers guarding our Mexican border."

Press attitudes, and presumably those of newspaper readers, regarding the submarine "menace" were largely decided on political grounds, particularly during its earlier phase. On May 13, 1915, the *Democrat-Advertiser* pleaded that "sentiment give place to the calm judgment of those who know" and asked that we keep open "the door of friendship." On a later occasion, it avoided decision by stating, "One may understand how Germany feels because we are exporting arms—which is our right." After the resignation of Bryan, the editor expressed his sympathy for Wilson, now "deserted by the man whom he had honored with the first place in his cabinet." By this time, the paper endorsed without question the stand against "inhuman and outlawed methods of warfare." The *Hunterdon County Democrat* also gave unqualified approval of Wilson's course of action, particularly after the German resumption of unrestricted warfare. In regard to the eleven Senators who talked to death the bill for arming merchant ships, the editor remarked, "It will require someone to coin a new name to fit the offense and crime against American loyalty and honor." When war came, he praised Wilson's war message, incidentally stating that war had been "inevitable from the start." The *Hunterdon County Republican* opposed the governmental course all the way through as one of weakness. Wilson was accused of "blowing hot and cold," and of "meeting crises with elocution." The rural viewpoint was shown by the paper's opposition to the proposed food embargo in December, 1916, on the grounds that such legislation would penalize the farmers at a time of increasing costs. Even earlier, the editor had pointed out that "farmers as well as munition workers have been the beneficiaries of war orders."

There was no expression within the county of opposition to the governmental program of "preparedness." The *Hunterdon County Republican*, which had deplored our "defenseless position," now chose to remain quiet, while the *Democrat-Advertiser* hoped that the program would "continue the Democrats in power." The editor of the latter paper was in favor of military training as a high school course from a rather early date. In June, 1916, one of the graduating class at the Flemington High School spoke in favor of such a program. Several

of the schools took up donations for the "Marjorie Starrett Battleship Fund" of the *New York Tribune*. The Y.M.C.A.'s at Flemington and Lambertville held a debate in January, 1917, on the subject of compulsory military training, and the one at Whitehouse actually gave military drill to its members. Postmasters became active in stimulating enlistments, no doubt encouraged by the five dollar bounty which they received for each recruit. The Fulper Pottery of Flemington encouraged the movement by distributing literature describing the branches of the United States service.

It is interesting to note the extent to which foreign relations were an issue of the election of 1916 within the county. The *Hunterdon County Republican* in midsummer stated, "We are not out of war because of the President, but in spite of him." But its editor soon shifted to domestic issues, particularly stressing that the "unprotective tariff" would ruin the working man as soon as peace came in Europe. So far, he averred, only the war had "saved him from his friends." A Democrat in Quakertown later admitted that he voted for Hughes in this election in order to avert a panic when peace came. The two rival Democrat papers also hesitated as to the issues. At first the *Democrat-Advertiser* played up the "era of prosperity" which was "lifting the mortgage from the poor man's home" and "filling the land with the chant of the spindle and the loom." It praised Wilson for having passed unscathed through "a crisis in international affairs." Nevertheless, the editor made this statement: "He loves peace well enough to fight for it if need be." During most of the campaign, the *Hunterdon County Democrat* stressed the benefits of the various Wilson reforms to the farmers. However, just before the election, both Democrat papers turned to the themes of "He kept us out of war" and "Peace without a stain on our honor." The *Hunterdon County Democrat* put itself out on a limb with the statement that under Republican leadership "Your sons, the first chosen of the War God, would be in the slaughter trenches." The Democratic victory was celebrated in Flemington by a mile-long parade in which automobiles, horse-drawn vehicles, and pedestrians all tried to participate.

During the early part of the war, there was not much indication of favoritism for either side. In December, 1915, Lambertville, in conjunction with her sister river town of New Hope, Pennsylvania, celebrated with much flag-waving a five-minute view of the Liberty Bell, which was on its way home from the Panama-Pacific Exposition. However, no one tried to link this up with the war in Europe. The closing-day exercises at the Ringoes School in 1916 had a "Stars and Stripes drill," but with no implications, and the audience was just as excited over a play called "The Bravest Boy at Bunker Hill." The *Hunterdon County Democrat* of August 9, 1916, commented that everyone hoped that the submarine *Deutschland* would return home safely from New York. Even as public opinion veered slowly in favor of the Allies, no evidence was shown of animosity toward the nearly five hundred persons of German birth and the numerous persons born in one part or another of the Dual Monarchy. One church continued to have sermons in Hungarian, and another had a Sunday School class in that language. Even after war was declared, the *Hunterdon County Democrat* suggested to the Germans here that they "be temperate in their demeanor, be wise in their acts, and attend strictly to their own affairs." It was unfortunate that such sanity did not prevail later.

Once war seemed inevitable, there was a groping for ways of showing patriotism. The first one at hand was the national Red Cross campaign. A mass meeting was held at the courthouse on March 9, 1917, "to assist the Red Cross in preparing for any emergency that may arise in this country" and to consider "in times of peace how to aid your country in time of war." A Hunterdon County chapter of the Red Cross was organized, plans were made for a local auxiliary, and space for a central headquarters was donated by H. E. Deats of Flemington. Lambertville at once followed suit by organizing its auxiliary, and soon other sections of the county were doing likewise.

A month before the declaration of war, local groups began to practice military drill. The Y.M.C.A. took a lead in this movement. National Guardsmen back from the Mexican border acted as drillmasters in several cases. The Whitehouse Y.M.C.A.

felt proud that its group had more than a year of practice behind it.

During this last month, flag-waving became the order of the day. At the Red Cross mass meeting already mentioned, people were urged to display flags in order to show their "patriotic response." On March 8, a Flemington doctor, in a letter printed in one of the newspapers, urged that people fly flags and "show their true patriotism by standing by our president." The *Hunterdon County Democrat* bloomed out with a flag illustration at the head of its editorial page, and urged, "It is patriotic to display the flag, especially at the time when the nation is at a critical point in its history." The people were being prepared, and were preparing themselves, for a great emotional upsurge.

On March 7, 1917, the *Hunterdon County Republican* printed without comment, under a beflagged heading, a statement by Charles Evans Hughes. Its essence was in one sentence, "We are all Americans, standing loyally behind President Wilson on whom the great responsibility rests." Thus did the editor, who four months earlier had said, "The thought of four more years of Wilsonism is not a pleasant one," renounce all opposition to the administration. Only once thereafter did he find fault, and in this case it was a half-hearted protest against "entangling alliances" as unnecessary. On March 28, he approved fully the coming declaration of war. Although the two Democrat papers often disagreed on local politics, they were as one in approving the course of action of the President. On April 5, the *Hunterdon County Democrat* attempted to speak for its readers thus:

President Wilson's magnificent message to Congress sent a thrill of patriotism through every loyal citizen of this great Country. He clearly pointed out the many and continued injustices practiced by the German government against our citizens while on the high seas in pursuit of lawful errands. He said he had exercised the greatest forbearance and patience because he knew the German people were friendly and it was only their autocratic government that was responsible for the cruel and inhuman acts for which Germany is held accountable. The country, with one accord stands ready to back and support him, knowing that, if war follows, every honorable method has been made to avoid it and that Germany has forced it, having run amuck among the nations of the world. She must be dealt with as an outlaw and punished in order that free peoples and free governments may live.

III. HUNTERDON FIGHTS A WAR

On June 5, 1917, all men between the ages of twenty-one and thirty went to their regular voting places to register for the national draft. As elsewhere in the nation, many places made of the day a grand holiday. This was the case in Flemington, where the new Chamber of Commerce provided the leadership. A band from High Bridge was imported to help out the Flemington band. The day became one of noise and music, flags and decorations, and parades of school children and local organizations. The *Democrat*, acrimonious itself on occasion, stated, "All personal prejudice and animosity have been cast aside and we stand united as a people with one County, one Flag, and one President." In other areas the day went by more quietly. At Whitehouse Station and at New Germantown, for instance, 114 and 52 registrants, respectively, were received without fanfare and then went back to their farm work or other tasks.

The twenty-two local governmental areas of the county reported 2334 registrants, and a few more expected by mail. While the draft machinery was being set in motion, the county recruiting officer was busy signing up volunteers. On June 13 he had to explain through the press that, as yet, only unmarried volunteers were wanted. By the end of July, local draft boards were ready to function, and on August 6, the County Exemption Board of three set to work at Flemington. The county's immediate quota was 222 men, but double that number were notified by card to appear. The recipients of these invitations held numbers which had been selected by lottery in Washington. The editor of the *Democrat*, always platitudinous in a pinch, wrote, "Not to be wept for, but to be envied as the chosen of the gods, are the young men whose numbers, coming out early in the lottery of glory, place themselves among the first recruits of civilization."

The first sets of rules for the draft boards from Washington were rather broad as to exemptions, which included aliens (of whom there were five thousand in the county), public officials, ministers, mail employees, sailors, men with dependents, and conscientious objectors. However, the rules changed from day to day, and 144 of the men at first exempted were accepted a

week later. Much the same was true as regarded physical disabilities, and many who were at first rejected for lack of physical fitness were later sent off to camp. The county local boards had many and varied problems, including acting on anonymous letters. On one occasion, for instance, the county board was sent a letter which read, "War Department. Dear Sir: When —— comes to be examined again, I think the best thing you can do is to put him through, because he wants to fight so bad he has his wife all pounded black and blue the biggest part of the time. Never mind his teeth, because he chews and eats at home. Neighbors."

For nearly a year and a half, the draft boards struggled with the problems common to draft boards all over the United States. Their job was complicated by red tape, changing rules, and swelling quotas; by impatient youths rushing off as volunteers; by the scattering of draftees to many camps, the segregation of Negroes, and the classification of "limited service" men; and by the rejection of selectees for physical reasons after they had reached camp.

On June 5, 1918, young men who had turned twenty-one since the first draft were registered. In the county, including late comers, there were 202 such draftees. And on September 12, all males between the ages of eighteen and forty-five who had not been registered previously reported to the thirty-four local boards of the county. As elsewhere in the nation, the total exceeded expectations. In Hunterdon County, the number of registrants in this last draft was 3819. During the following weeks, the draft boards were busy classifying the new draftees. The Armistice came just in time to cause the cancellation of notices sent to a new group of selectees.

The final draft figures for the county show that 757 men were "inducted," of whom 42 were later rejected, leaving 715 who were accepted for service. Of these, 672 were actually called to the colors. To these should be added the volunteers for the Army and Navy and for special branches of service. The county chapter of the Red Cross attempted such a tally, with some difficulty, and came up with a final figure of 878 Hunterdon County men who served in uniform during the war. These men

went into practically every branch of the armed services, and included infantrymen, aviators, machine gunners, machinists, artillerymen, medical workers—everything from balloonists to seamen. The records show that forty-two men, including two suicides, died while in service. Nine of these were killed in action.

Some mention has been made of the organization of local Red Cross units. By April 25, 1917, ten local units were in operation and six more were planned. By that date, some of the units already had volunteers cutting and making garments, tearing bandages, and knitting various articles. By May 9, there were eighteen auxiliaries, and it was decided that a reorganization was needed. Four of the auxiliaries, those of Flemington, Lambertville, Clinton, and High Bridge, became "branches" of the county organization, and other local groups were affiliated with one or another of the branches. A checkup in October, 1917, showed four branches, with twenty-one auxiliaries, and a total membership of 4606. A Christmas membership drive brought in 2700 new members. By June, 1918, there were thirty-two Red Cross societies in the county. Most of these were formed on the basis of place of residence, exceptions being the Flemington High School, the Clinton Reformatory for Women, and the Glen Gardner Sanatorium. In the spring of 1918, the county schools had begun to organize Junior Auxiliaries. By May 1, sixty-three of the ninety schools of the county had such organizations, and more than two-thirds of the pupils of the county had joined. A substantial portion of the population of the county were entitled to wear the pins which showed Red Cross membership.

Money from Red Cross memberships, a portion of which went to the national headquarters, was only a small fraction of the sum needed to carry on the work which the organization was attempting. The problem of local working quarters was usually solved by the granting of space by a public-spirited individual or by an organization, but the problem of materials was always a serious one. Other organizations helped on this score, and business men and other individuals made gifts as needs arose. But the bulk of Red Cross money, both that for use by the

national organization and that for local needs, was secured by "drives." The first major drive was that of National Red Cross Week in July, 1917, which brought in something over \$6500 in Hunterdon County. The second such drive came in May, 1918, when the county was set a quota of \$18,000. Promotional literature, most of it from the national headquarters, was used profusely. One common advertisement, with the obvious illustration, was titled, "The Call from No Man's Land." Another, occupying a full page in the *Democrat*, played up the phrase, "A great net of mercy through an ocean of unspeakable pain." Still another pictured a buxom Red Cross nurse motioning authoritatively, and was headed, "Can You Resist?" Enthusiastic mass meetings often started the ball rolling in a community. Such a meeting at Milford brought in donations of \$475 toward the local \$1400 quota. By May 31, the total for the county stood at \$27,045.43. The third major drive came after the Armistice, as part of the United War Work Campaign, and also proved a big success. Though much of the money was slated for foreign relief, the most popular slogan was "Keeping the Home Fires Burning until the Soldier Returns."

The other important method by which Red Cross funds were raised was that of giving benefit entertainments. On some occasions, talent was hired, as when the county chapter brought in New York musicians in order to raise money for the yarn fund, or when the Flemington Auxiliary took over the Flemington High School Entertainment Course for a year. More often the talent was local and donated. At Flemington, an amateur naturalist gave a talk on birds and insects, and the band played at a concert which brought in over one hundred dollars. The Red Cross unit at Three Bridges gave a play, "My Kentucky Belle," which was later sponsored by the groups at Ringoes, South Branch, and Readington on a profit-sharing basis. The Wishbone Club at Whitehouse gave one-half of the net proceeds of a three-day carnival to the Red Cross and the rest to a fund for buying clothing for refugees. Other money-making affairs included a strawberry festival at Milford, a "bake," a rummage sale, and a Hallowe'en Carnival at Frenchtown, a junk sale and a donated movie at Flemington, a food sale at Stanton, and a cantata at Larison's Corner. In the single month of March,

1918, at least eleven auxiliaries gave "birthday dinners" to celebrate the first anniversary of the county Red Cross chapter.

Red Cross work gave women a chance to participate in war activities and was not without its social rewards. The usual custom was to have regular meetings where knitters, needle-workers, bandage-makers, etc., could work together. For example, during the summer of 1917, the workers at many places met twice a week to make hospital shirts and sweaters. Much additional work was also done at home. At Stanton, each lady of the local unit agreed to give at least one hour a day to Red Cross work, and at Annandale even the children were utilized in the making of sweaters and pajamas. Other organizations often stepped in to help out, as, for instance, the Community Club at Lansdown and the public school at Clinton. In August 1917, the county was given a quota of 1300 each of sweaters mufflers, pairs of socks, and pairs of wristlets. A frantic search was made for both knitters and yarn, and the work was soon under way. Two months later, a shipment from the county chapter included 430 dozen bandages, 20 dozen mouth swabs. 43 dozen knitted wash cloths, 38 dozen pairs of hospital socks 25 dozen pairs of pajamas, and 64 dozen hospital shirts. At Christmas, every soldier from the county received a Red Cross packet, valued at \$150, with appropriate verses and other messages.

Local groups vied with one another as to production records. The champion at sewing at Milford held a record for the county by making a pair of pajamas in fifty minutes until a lady at New Germantown (soon to be Oldwick) did the same task in forty-seven minutes. The auxiliary at Stanton, with only thirty-three members, was held up by the county chapter as a model for per-capita production. As time went on, factory methods were introduced to a certain extent. For instance, the county headquarters purchased buttonhole-making and sock-knitting machines, which it lent out to the auxiliaries. At the same time, it acted as a co-ordinating agency for such services as garment-cutting, which was done for the county as a whole by the Atlantic Division of the Red Cross at a charge of one cent per garment.

The Red Cross became somewhat more impersonal when the

custom of giving direct to the soldiers was stopped, but the patriotic urge and social pressure kept the work going. There were angry readers when the Clinton paper accused the ladies of working one hour at the Red Cross rooms and talking about it the rest of the week. Without doubt the Red Cross members felt considerable pleasure that they were able to participate in the war to such an extent. They were careful to bow to army superstitions in favor of striped socks (no dead soldier was ever found in striped socks) and against red, white, and blue combinations in hospital quilts (the flag was used as a covering for the dead). It is said that many of the workers sighed for the knitting and sewing after it was all over.

There were, of course, other Red Cross activities. The local committee of the Home Service Department of the Department of Civilian Relief had varied and interesting duties. Its members attempted to interview each draftee to persuade him to make a will and to help him regularize his financial affairs before leaving. In cases of need, the Committee was to extend relief from Red Cross funds to the families of soldiers. Other services to drafted men were also freely given. In one case, the Committee acted as a go-between in collecting \$176 of War Risk Insurance for a soldier's wife, and later in helping the husband to collect unpaid Army pay. This case involved the filling out of elaborate questionnaires and the sending to Washington of birth and marriage certificates, as well as the answering of several queries. The file of papers on this case alone included twenty-four communications. Another service given on occasion was the sending and receiving of messages through the enemy lines for people with relatives in Germany or Austria-Hungary. A Red Cross activity having no direct connection with the war was the organization of first aid classes to which local doctors gave instruction without compensation.

There were a number of organizations besides the Red Cross to which services could be donated by patriotic persons. In July, 1918, a Hunterdon County Branch of the New Jersey Motor Messenger Service was organized. Women who were willing to donate the use of their cars for war services might join. At the same time a Bicycle Service was organized, consisting of girls

who were willing to run errands for the Red Cross and other semi-official organizations. The county also had a Council of Home Defense. One of its services was a "Better Babies Drive," in which information on care of infants was given to mothers and prospective mothers. A spectacular part of the work of this organization was the sending out of committees to visit and weigh babies periodically. A group which, without fanfare, worked on its own program of making garments for soldiers was the Flemington Branch of the Needleworkers' Guild of America.

The Y.M.C.A. groups of the county were very active in soliciting funds for carrying on the war services of the organization. In November, 1917, a spectacular drive brought in twelve thousand dollars, two thousand more than the county quota. Another drive was carried out the following spring, and in the fall of 1918 the Y.M.C.A. joined other organizations in the very successful United War Work Campaign. As was to be expected, most of the contributions to this organization came from the larger population centers.

Special campaigns of one kind or another were constantly being made, and with almost invariable success. In January, 1918, the Knights of Columbus, with Protestant help, made a drive for funds, and in August of the same year the Committee on Jewish Relief did likewise. In the spring and again in the fall of 1918, concerted drives were made for the donation of clothing for Belgian relief. Much of the leg work on these drives was done by the Boy Scouts. Similar collections on a more local basis were made from time to time for American and Syrian relief. After the war, local representatives were appointed in Flemington and Lambertville to accept aid for the American Committee for Relief in the Near East.

Constant drives were made by various organizations to collect books, magazines, and other things for the soldiers in the camps. A local drive in Lambertville raised enough money to give an Edison phonograph and a selection of 125 records. The War Camp Community Fund, a movement sponsored by the *Democrat*, collected money for athletic equipment. The *Democrat-Advertiser* sponsored the Soldier Tobacco Fund. The donor of

twenty-five cents could have forty-five cents' worth of American Tobacco Company products sent to a soldier of his choice and would get back a postcard acknowledgment. The advertising campaign, which was of undoubted benefit to both the paper and the advertiser, gave the following question and answer: "Suppose you were waiting to go over the top in ten minutes. What would you want more than anything? You would want a good smoke, of course."

Lest a willing horse be driven to death, the mayor of Flemington early in 1918 named the following groups which were the only ones "recognized" to solicit war funds in the village: the Red Cross, the Y.M.C.A., the Belgian Relief Fund, the War Camp Community Fund, the Knights of Columbus Cantonment, the American Soldier Tobacco Fund, and, of course, the Liberty Bond and War Thrift Stamp organizations. The same basic idea was probably behind the joining of most of the charities into the United War Work Campaign, which was carried out in late 1918.

The federal government's campaigns to raise the money for carrying on the war met with enthusiastic response in Hunterdon County. The First Liberty Loan, in May and June, 1917, was advertised with such slogans as "If you can't carry a rifle, you can carry a Liberty Bond." Among the purchasers were many organizations, such as churches, Y.M.C.A.'s, firemen's relief associations, etc. The only total figures available are those for Flemington, where the banks, acting as agents without charge, sold \$173,300 worth of bonds. Other areas reported that the campaign went over well, and there are no indications that any part of the county failed to fill its quota.

The Second Liberty Loan, which came in October, 1917, had considerably more publicity. A five-year-old boy, sent by the Department of the Navy, opened Hunterdon's campaign by swaggering about in uniform with a wooden gun and bayonet. The farmers, supposedly prosperous, were urged, "Send your dollars to fight for you." A local columnist tried his hand at blank verse:

Send your dough to beat the Kaiser.
R you really patriotic,
Eager for the war to end?
Answer with a hundred dollars.

Large advertisements in the county papers were paid for by local merchants, who often took the opportunity to inject some far from subtle propaganda in favor of themselves or their merchandise. The most common poster themes were Uncle Sam beckoning, and the Statue of Liberty in a wheat field. On October 24, which was designated as "Liberty Bond Day," Flemington held a parade, to which the state militia added a martial touch. Flemington and its vicinity on this day bought \$290,000 worth of bonds. Indications are that other parts of the county were just as patriotic, although many of them were less noisy. West Amwell Township, for instance, more than doubled its quota of bond purchases.

In December, 1917, began the War Saving Stamp drive. A county committee asked for the help of the Red Cross, the Boy Scouts, the Y.M.C.A., the Women's Clubs, and other organizations. December 21 was designated as "School Thrift Day" for the whole state. One slogan in the schools was "Licking a stamp to lick the Kaiser." A more elaborate one stated, "You can put a steel helmet on a soldier by buying twelve Thrift Stamps. Come across. Save a life." The stamps sold well from the start. On April 15, 1918, it was calculated that Hunterdon County was leading the state with \$1.30 worth of stamps per capita. The week of June 23 was named "Thrift and War Stamp Week." Many devices were used to encourage purchases. For example, one merchant advertised that he would buy a War Saving Stamp for each twenty-five dollars in sales of floor coverings. The schools were the natural rallying points for the campaign. Pupils and teachers at Lambertville bought over \$20,000 worth of stamps. The country school of Voorhees Corner was just as proud to have purchased \$330 worth.

The *Democrat* initiated the Third Liberty Loan drive with a large cartoon of a helmeted dachshund with a can tied to its tail and the caption, "If you want quick action, drop your rocks in this can." Human skulls strewn about the background gave a more solemn touch. The drive began officially on April 6, 1918. The press made a strenuous effort to explain that the bonds of this series, though not convertible (as the earlier ones had been), had certain definite advantages. The quotas set for each district were high. One volunteer salesman later explained, "For

each loan, they doubled our last quota. We doubled their figure and then stopped." Such crossroads hamlets as Croton and Flemington Junction had quotas of \$2700; Copper Hill had twice that figure; Three Bridges and Quakertown were to buy \$16,200 each; Ringoes had a quota of \$18,900; and Flemington this time had its share increased to \$183,500. As each place "went over the top," it acquired the right to unfurl a "service flag," and, of course, was rewarded with appropriate publicity concerning the event.

Advertising this time appealed to both idealism and to the increasing hatred of the enemy. Prospective purchasers were asked to help "kill Kaiserdom," to promote "the great war for Humanity and Peace," to give the children "the opportunity of growing up in a clean and splendid world." A member of the Canadian "Princess Pat" regiment was imported to talk to large crowds, and movie-goers throughout the county saw the British war film, "The Battle of the Somme." Various communities whipped up enthusiasm by holding "Liberty Day Rallies." From the tenor of editorials and news items, the drive went over well in every district. That of Flemington bought more than one-third of a million dollars' worth. An old lady at Lebanon, who had ten grandsons in the armed forces, was able to boast that at least one bond had been bought by or for each of her 126 descendants.

The Fourth Liberty Loan drive began in September, 1918. Newspaper campaigns were designed to persuade everyone to "buy till it hurts." The *Democrat* played up photographs of Allied generals and admirals, and printed a decorated copy of the President's proclamation announcing the Loan. According to the editor, over two thousand readers donated small sums to pay the cost involved. The slogan, "Something big enough to die for," was given much prominence in the publicity. When a special train, loaded with "war relics" and "Pershing veterans direct from the fighting line," made two stops within the county, it was met by huge throngs. Large mass meetings were held despite the influenza epidemic. In Bloomsbury, for instance, a "Liberty Loan Day" was announced during the drive and a patriotic rally was held as soon as the quota of \$59,400 was exceeded. Frenchtown,

too, held a rally when it "went over the top" with \$183,500. Every district of the county exceeded its quota except that of Flemington, and even in that district the villages of Sergeantsville, Sand Brook, and Flemington Junction bought their share. Flemington's failure was a cause of chagrin to its good citizens, who had certainly made valiant efforts. It seems probable that the village, which had far exceeded the high quotas in earlier drives, had already given till it "hurt." The fifth loan, known as the Victory Loan, does not fall within the scope of this paper. Suffice it to say that it too met with a willing response.

[To be continued]

DIRECTOR'S DIARY

ALEXANDER J. WALL, JR.

THE arrival of spring can mean many things to many people. To the homeowner it means preparation of the soil for gardening and planting. To the student it means the approach of final examinations, term papers and perhaps graduation and a degree. To the city dweller it may mean the beginning of pleasant weekends in the country. To us at the New Jersey Historical Society it means the beginning of active preparations for the fourth annual New Jersey Historical Conference, to be held this year at Princeton on Saturday, May 22.

At this writing the complete program has not been determined. However, headquarters for the Conference will be at the First Presbyterian Church on the campus of Princeton University at Nassau Street. It will be there that we shall hold our morning programs, luncheon and early afternoon session. Then we shall proceed to visit such historical sites as Morven, the home of Richard Stockton, signer of the Declaration of Independence; Rockingham, George Washington's headquarters, where he wrote and delivered his farewell address to the army; Quaker meeting house and Princeton battle ground. The banquet and evening meeting will be held at Nassau Tavern. The complete program and invitations will be mailed to all members of this society, and those who attended previous conferences. We should be happy to forward a copy to any who request it, and who would not normally receive one.

March 19 marked the twenty-fifth

anniversary of Mrs. Joseph W. Greene's service as librarian of the Society. She joined the staff in 1929 when our headquarters were on Park Street, and for many years during the difficult 1930's she carried the burden of the Society's activities singlehanded. At the March 10th meeting of the Board of Trustees, the following resolution was unanimously passed:

"Be it resolved that the Board of Trustees of the New Jersey Historical Society recognize the twenty-five years of faithful service of its librarian, Mrs. Joseph W. Greene, on March 19, 1954, by extending to her their heartfelt appreciation for her loyalty, for her devotion to the Society in performing many unrequired tasks and assuming numerous extra responsibilities, for great public service in creating interest in New Jersey history, and for the reputation she has gained in all parts of the state through her service to students of New Jersey history and genealogy.

"Be it further resolved that this

resolution be spread upon the minutes of the Society and that a copy be presented to Mrs. Greene."

During January the Society showed the second in its series of motion picture programs on the four Saturday mornings, and despite some pretty terrible weather they were very well attended. The third series of programs was presented in March, the theme being "Memorable Films of World War II." They too were shown on Saturday mornings. On March 6, "Pre-lude to War" was presented. This film was produced by the United States Army at the beginning of World War II for the indoctrination of its personnel, and was shown to millions of G.I.'s during the war years. "Battle of Britain" was shown on March 13, an account, as its title implies, of the heroic stand of the British during the terrible Nazi air raids. On March 20, the award-winning "Desert Victory" was featured, which tells the story of the African campaign and the defeat of Rommel. The final program on March 27 included "Memphis Belle," the report of a daylight mission of heavy bombers over Germany, "Battle of Midway," and "Japan Surrenders." The success of these programs and the introduction of many new visitors to our building have pretty well assured the continuation of these film showings next year.

Another event which drew an enthusiastic response from our members was the opening of the special exhibition, "Early American Pewter," on February 27. The ex-

hibition, which will continue through the end of April, comprises 150 choice examples lent to us by Mr. John H. McMurray of Bound Brook from his collection. Sixty-six makers are represented, eighteen of whom were working prior to the American Revolution, in a variety of items such as tankards, mugs, beakers, lamps, porringers, flagons, chalices, pitchers, teapots, ladles, spoons, basins, dishes, and plates.

Among the outstanding pieces shown are a 16½-inch dish by Frederick Bassett of New York, working 1761-1800; a chalice by Peter Young, who worked in New York in 1775; several porringers by Richard Lee, Connecticut Valley pewterer between 1788 and 1820; a tankard by William Bradford, New York City, working 1719-58; a tulip-shaped tankard made by William Will of Philadelphia between 1764 and 1798; mugs by Nathaniel Austin and Gershom Jones, late eighteenth-century pewterers of Charlestown, Mass., and Providence, R.I., respectively; and a pair of twelve-inch lamps by Roswell Gleason of Dorchester, Mass., working between 1822 and 1860. Other makers represented include Thomas, Josiah and the two Samuel Danforths, Henry and John Will, Joseph Leddell, Nathaniel Austin, Parks Boyd, and Thomas Danforth Boardman.

A portion of the exhibition is devoted to a variety of pewter household articles. Among the more unusual items in this group are a molasses gate, butter mould, spin dampener, warming dish, sun dial,

muff warmer, medicine dropper, feeding cup and five communion tokens. For the opening on the 27th Mr. McMurray gave a talk on the development and techniques of American pewter, which was followed by a reception, refreshments and an opportunity to view the exhibition, which is an unusually fine one.

Several visiting organizations used the facilities of this society during the winter months. In addition to the Nova Caesarea Chapter, D.A.R., which meets here regularly, the Huguenot Society held a meeting here on January 23, and the Daughters of Colonial Wars met for a guided tour through the museum on January 29.

The Museums Council of New Jersey held a workshop session at the Society, to which representatives of all the local historical societies of the state were invited, on March 25. The subject of the meeting

was "Exhibition Techniques for the Small Museum," which was designed to discuss the best ways of exhibiting the great variety of historical objects commonly found in local organizations, which of necessity operate on limited budgets. The meeting also afforded an exchange of ideas and suggested ways in which exhibition problems have been solved.

We hope that you will plan to be present at the Society on the occasion of the annual meeting of the Woman's Branch, to be held this year a month earlier than usual, on Wednesday, April 14. The program will include a business meeting, a delightful luncheon, which is traditional for this event. The scheduled speaker is Mrs. Bond Powell, keeper of the American Wing, Metropolitan Museum, who will give an illustrated talk on "Earliest American Landscapes, 1740-1820."

ELSEWHERE IN THE STATE

The National Newark and Essex Banking Company celebrated its 150th anniversary on February 18 with a reception at its main Newark office at 744 Broad Street. To mark the occasion a simulated street scene of Newark in 1804 was erected in the lobby, complete with store fronts and show windows. Objects of the period borrowed from this society and the Newark Museum were incorporated in the shop windows, which helped to make the setting quite impressive. The street scene was exhibited for about a week. Widely

distributed and presented to guests at the reception were copies of a forty-page profusely illustrated booklet, picturing the history of the Essex County area during the last 150 years.

Two moves are currently afoot to save historical structures from demolition. One concerns the last remaining covered bridge in New Jersey which connects Columbia with Portland, Pa., and which has been described as the longest covered bridge in America. Appeals have been made by citizens of Columbia to state agencies concerned and to

associations interested in the preservation of historic sites.

The second structure is the Kingsland-Kettell house at 245 Union Avenue, Rutherford, which the present owner, James H. Smith, is willing to sell at a sacrifice rather than let it be torn down. According to Herbert A. Fisher of Bloomfield, a student of American Dutch architecture, the house was built sometime between 1669 and 1673 by Captain William Sandford for Nathaniel Kingsland and is one of the oldest houses in New Jersey. Through the years a number of additions were built, so that the house today has embodied within its walls an architectural story embracing three centuries. The Rutherford Chapter, Sons of the Revolution, and the American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society of New York City are presently considering possible ways of preserving the structure.

The Public Library of Newark has received from Dr. Stephen DeWitt Stephens of Rutgers University a gift of some ninety-five examples of the work of Peter Maverick (1780-1831), prominent New Jersey engraver. The gift was received on February 24 at a meeting of the institution's Board of Trustees by Dr. Nicholas W. Sivoilella, president. The engravings were collected by Dr. Stephens in the course of writing his book, *The Mavericks, American Engravers*. Most of them were executed in Newark between 1809 and 1820. They include bookplates, banknotes, magazine and book illustrations, title-pages of books and maps.

New acquisitions were also announced by the Montclair Art Museum—two paintings by George Inness and a charcoal by Winslow Homer. They are considered fine examples of work by important American artists. Inness lived during his latter years in Montclair and painted many canvases of rural scenes of the New Jersey-Pennsylvania area. A costume exhibition, featuring gowns and paintings illustrative of the changing fashions during a century and a half of American life, attracted considerable attention between January 17 and February 28. The costumes were from the museum's permanent collections and the paintings were lent by some eight Eastern museums.

For the eightieth-anniversary celebration of its organization, the Washington Association of New Jersey had as its guest speaker, at the February 22 meeting held in Morristown, Dr. John Allen Krout of Columbia University, who spoke on George Washington as a man. In the course of his talk he brought out the point that legends and well-known portraits of Washington which bear very slight resemblance to the man himself present an inaccurate picture of an austere and rather gloomy statesman who, to the average boy or girl appears as a forbidding image and impersonal symbol.

The following month, on March 2, Dr. John C. Hutchinson, Jr., of Newark State Teachers College, spoke on "Early Education in Morris County" before the Morris County Historical Society at the Morristown Library. Two days

later the Nutley Historical Society held its ninth annual meeting and dinner, at which Mr. and Mrs. George Richard Brown presented their fascinating program on "The Romance of Music Boxes," playing over fifty from their fabulous collection during the course of the evening.

Nutley's latest money-raising activity for the renovation of their headquarters has been "The Country Store," complete with cider, candy sticks and, we hope, a cracker barrel. Antique items donated for the purpose were sold in an authentic atmosphere.

The winter meeting of the Archeological Society of New Jersey, held January 16, featured a visit to Buddhurst, on the Passaic River north of Chatham, home of the late Merritt Lum Budd, a charter member of the Society. Mrs. Edna Van Sickle Budd related the historical background of the Budd family and properties. The farm was settled by John C. Budd, a noted physician, in 1730, on the site of a former Indian village. Merritt Lum Budd and his brother operated the Buddhurst Dairy Farm, on the same property, for many years.

Mr. Budd was an avid collector of Indian artifacts, starting with those discovered on his own farm, and extending his search also into many other localities of New Jersey. He also purchased several large collections. A great part of this collection will probably be put on public sale later this year; a portion will be retained by Mrs. Budd; some items will be presented to

local museums. In addition to collecting Indian artifacts, and owing to his great interest in state and local history, Mr. Budd amassed a large library of historical and archeological books, manuscripts, and pamphlets. The library is currently being catalogued by Charles A. Philhower, close friend of Merritt Lum Budd and member of the Archeological Society of New Jersey, and copies of the catalogue will be made available to all members of the Archeological Society of New Jersey.

An open house and tea was held by the Burlington County Historical Society January 23 at its headquarters in the James Fenimore Cooper house at Burlington. The hostesses were dressed in period costume for the occasion. One week later the Society held a meeting in the Moorestown Friends' Meeting House, when Captain John W. Haines spoke on the history of the Haines family in Burlington County.

The Colonel Joseph Stout Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, of Hopewell, N.J., has placed a stone in the Bell Tower at Valley Forge in memory of John Hart, signer of the Declaration of Independence from New Jersey. The Hopewell Library-Museum assisted the Chapter by compiling a short biography for insertion in a book maintained for the information of visitors in the main floor of the tower.

Reference is made to a statement on page 304 of the October 1953 PROCEEDINGS, where, for the sake of clarity, the words "Cranford His-

torical" should be inserted before "Society's" on line eleven of the first column.

Atlantic City is marking its hundredth anniversary and the Diamond Jubilee of Light during a year-long celebration. Although Atlantic City was incorporated on March 3, 1854, and Edison's invention of the electric light occurred on October 21 of that year, the festivities encompass a great many more activities. The highlight of the year will be one hundred days of celebration between June 1 and September 9 and include the opening of the new Garden Pier Civic Center activities, a host of conventions, meets, tournaments, and spectacles, ending with the Miss America pageant. For a symbol of the celebration, the famous Absecon Lighthouse has been chosen. Although retired from service in 1933, it has been lighted again one hundred years after it was first put into service.

The Paramus Historical and Preservation Society, to mark the famous birthdays of February, held a patriotic meeting on February 19, introduced by a color guard of Boy Scouts, at which Mr. Jared Banta, president of the Society, welcomed the guests. After a short business meeting, a Somerville sixth-grade class presented a play on the origin of the flag, which was followed by a minuet danced by four couples in colonial dress and an address by Mr. Roger Koehler, Jr., of Annin and Company, who spoke on the flag's history, its meaning, and how to display it.

The Springfield Historical So

ciety, organized December 3 of last year, is growing by leaps and bounds. Membership has now reached 200. The first annual meeting of the Society was held January 28, when the temporary slate of officers listed in the January PROCEEDINGS was confirmed as the permanent set of officers.

At the March 31 meeting, Mr. Harry Casperson of Summit announced that he had purchased the Cannon Ball House (c.1741) on Morris Avenue, Springfield, which had been facing possible demolition, that he plans to restore the house faithfully and upon completion will deed it to the Springfield Historical Society. It is expected that the house will be opened to the public after the restoration has been completed. This magnificent windfall occurred within three months of the Society's founding in December, 1953.

An exhibition of postal history of Essex County was recently placed on view in the offices of Montclair stamp dealer Brainerd Kremer by Stephen G. Rich of Verona, authority and stamp collector. Mr. Rich exhibited seventy-two pages containing about 160 items which include a number of unusual ones associated with nineteenth-century Newark, such as envelopes with elaborate letterheads, and advertising media. Also shown were covers with postmarks which reflect name changes in suburban communities. A postal history of Montclair was recorded in the display with postmarks dating from the time Montclair was known as West Bloomfield for postal pur-

poses. Of considerable interest to philatelists were a number of early postmarks, including one of Newark's earliest, dated December 1, 1799, the oldest known Verona postmark from the late 1870's and three earliest known Caldwell oval postmarks which date from 1846 to 1851.

A reminder of prehistoric times in New Jersey came to light recently when the bones of a mastodon were discovered during dredging operations in Ohberg's Pond, Vernon, Sussex County. Dr.

John Clark, Princeton University geologist, identified the skull as that of a middle-aged mastodon, along with Paul Niemeyer of the State Museum, Kimble Widmer, and Frank Mankewicz, state geologists. The discovery was made in February, when Archibald McMurry, a local contractor, and Gus Ohberg, the Pond's owner, saw the teeth shining on what they thought was a stump. Mr. Ohberg has presented the bones to the State Museum in Trenton, where they are now being processed.

WORKS IN PROGRESS

Miss Rosa Livingston, curator of the Paramus Historical and Preservation Society, has been writing a collection of stories on the local history of the Paramus area.

The senior class of the Passaic Valley Regional High School has adopted a local history theme for its yearbook. Photographs and old prints of the Little Falls area were copied by the students for inclusion

in the volume now being prepared.

Mrs. Herbert Fisher of 1200 Broad Street, Bloomfield, is preparing a manuscript volume of legends of the Passaic Valley, covering the period from Indian days to the late nineteenth century. Some of the legends were handed down by his great-grandfather and other old residents of the Passaic Valley region.

ANTIQUER'S ATTIC

MARGARET E. WHITE

This department deals with New Jersey antiques and their makers. Miss White, who is curator of decorative arts on the Newark Museum staff, plans to cover various aspects of the subject in future articles. As with other PROCEEDINGS departments, information and suggestions from the readers will be welcomed.

WHEELS, REELS AND COVERLETS

In early days, every thrifty housewife did her own spinning and weaving, on equipment made by local craftsmen. Carefully preserved in museums and private homes throughout New Jersey are the objects used in preparing home-grown flax, in carding and spinning wool yarn, the floor and table looms required, and the garments or bed coverings woven from home-spun fibers.

When Phebe Davis married in 1797, her dowry included such items as two slaves, blue china for the dining room, spinning wheels and winding reels. Phebe was born and brought up in the old Davis homestead on Franklin Street, Bloomfield, built by Stephen Davis about 1676. The stone house was constructed with exceptionally thick walls, perhaps to withstand Indian attack. Behind this house were the slave quarters.

After living in a century-old house, the young bride must have been thrilled to move into the new home built for her by Isaac Nichols of Newark. This two-story-and-attic frame house stood on Washington Street, near Newark's Four Cor-

ners. The wool wheels brought there by Mistress Phebe were still standing in the house in 1928 when they were given to the Newark Museum by members of the Nichols family. While slaves attended to the housework, Phebe Nichols could do the needed spinning or wind the newly spun yarn on a clock reel, ready for the loom. To spin carded wool on the "great" wheel was a tedious job. To draw out the yarn and wind it on the accelerating wheel head meant pacing back and forth endlessly. Winding the wool yarn into skeins on a reel or swift was pleasanter work, for one could remain seated.

The Museum owns a candlewick bedspread, hand-loomed by or for Phebe Nichols in 1813, her name and date recorded in candlewick. Two rows of loops give variety to the tufting while, at the same time, accenting the central design. This is a stepped square containing the eight-pointed star and the pine tree, design motifs frequently used in pieced quilts and hand-woven coverlets. The tree follows quite closely the design of the Pine-Tree shil-

ling, first coined in Massachusetts in 1652.

The pine tree forms an effective border in a double-woven coverlet from Hunterdon County, New Jersey. This coverlet, in single snowball pattern, dates from the 1840's. It belonged to Mrs. Sarah Ten Eyck Van Derveer in whose home were spun the wool and cotton used for warp and weft. It is thought that the weaving was done by a professional craftsman at Millstone, for double-woven coverlets such as this one required a loom of at least eight harnesses.

Another coverlet in snowball pattern came from Hackettstown. This, too, required professional skill. Thought to have been made in Revolutionary days, the bed cover had been preserved by four generations of one family prior to its acquisition by the Newark Museum. The colors, shown in reverse on the two sides of the coverlet, combine madder rose of particularly rich and mellow tone with white and indigo.

That there were expert weavers in New Jersey at an early date is not surprising. Somerset County was settled by the Dutch in the seventeenth century. Early settlers of Bergen County were chiefly of Dutch and German origin. After the capture of New Amsterdam by the British in 1664, there was an influx of English people who settled in the area between Englewood and Ridgfield, long known as "English Neighborhood." It is but natural that among these people there would have been skilled weavers who had learned their

craft in the "old country" and who followed designs long familiar in European textiles.

From English Neighborhood comes a coverlet of unidentified pattern, made for Mrs. Demarest whose husband was minister of the Dutch Reformed Church there in the early nineteenth century. Bergen County is full of such names as Cooper, Demarest, Voorhees, and Zabriskie.

Another coverlet from Bergen County is particularly interesting for its resemblance to old Germanic textiles. It is woven in "Lover's Knot" pattern, but with roses instead of stars. The same design will be found in German reversible hangings of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Frances Vanole was a Dutch weaver who, in 1836, was living in Newark. He made the "Lover's Knot" coverlet, woven with stars, that belonged to Mary Baldwin. Vanole also wove coverlets for the Peck family, handed down from Margaret (Peck) Jones to daughter and granddaughter.

The Mahlon Johnson homestead stood at the Dover and Parsippany crossroads in Littleton. Susan, daughter of Mahlon and Sarah (Baker) Johnson, was born here in 1806. Two double-woven coverlets made for Susan have been carefully preserved. One of the spreads is a ten-harness twill woven with a tabby. The pattern of the other is "Washington Beauty," a variant of the "Lisbon Star" and an old Germanic pattern. If these coverlets were made at the Johnson homestead they must have been the

work of a professional itinerant weaver, perhaps one of Germanic origin. The arrival of an itinerant weaver with his pattern book, in which drafts were carefully drawn, presented a lively diversion in any household. Selecting the design for a coverlet to go in a daughter's "hope chest" must have been even more exciting than selecting a new wallpaper today. Long-established custom dictated the number of quilts and coverlets allotted to each marriageable son and daughter of the family.

Flax was raised on every farm as one of the crops. The New Jersey Historical Society has flax that was raised on the Doremus farm at Parsippany. Here also are shown the flax break, scutching board and knife, flax hetchels, and small spinning wheel, that tell the story of metamorphosis from stalk to woven thread. The wool cards, wool or "great" wheel, clock reels for measuring off the skeins of yarn, and a colonial floor loom are also displayed.

A simple four-harness loom was to be found in every household.

On this loom the women of the family would weave the dress goods, sheets, blankets, and table linen needed, as well as coverlets in overshot weave. Coverlets in four-harness weave were the earliest made in the colonies. A lovely example from the Shumway family is "Dogwood Blossoms" or "Dog Tracks," woven in red, blue, and white. The warp is flax thread, the weft is of wool in two colors. No doubt the flax was home-grown and one can picture some housewife of the Shumway family seated at her flax wheel by the big fireplace. New Jersey historians are probably familiar with Mrs. Whitall's flax wheel, now preserved at Whitall house. Whether the wheel or the spinner is more famous is a question, for it is said that while the Battle of Red Bank raged outside the indomitable Mistress Whitall continued to spin. A wool wheel, dating about 1750, stands in the upper hall of the Schuyler-Hamilton house in Morristown. It would be nice to think that Betsy Schuyler used it for spinning some of her yarn.

NEW JERSEY IN PRINT

MIRIAM V. STUDLEY

Two diverse segments of religious history in New Jersey are presented in book reviews. The Reverend Henry J. Browne, Ph.D., reviews George Reilly's history of Sacred Heart Parish in Bloomfield, and Mrs. Pauline T. Swindells presents Lyman Butterfield's study of John Witherspoon. Father Browne is instructor in history, and archivist, Catholic University of America. His thesis "The Catholic Church and the Knights of Labor" was published in 1949 by the Catholic University of America as Volume 38, *Studies in American Church History*.

REVIEWS

Sacred Heart in Bloomfield: a Diamond Jubilee History of the Parish, 1878-1953. BY GEORGE L. A. REILLY. Bloomfield, N.J.: Sacred Heart Church, 1953. 224 pages.

Few local institutions win to themselves professional historians as this Roman Catholic parish has. The author teaches at Seton Hall and has his Ph.D. in history from Columbia University. Accordingly the book has a professional touch.

Against the background of the area's history from the seventeenth century until the Civil War and a sketch of its earliest contacts with Catholicism, the author begins the story of the Bloomfield parish which was mothered by Immaculate Conception church in present-day Montclair. The real hero appears in the person of the founder, Joseph M. Nardiello, a young priest from southern Italy who was the choice of a committee of laymen from Bloomfield who met

with Bishop Michael A. Corrigan of Newark in 1878. His ride into town on a wagon seat with an ebullient Irishman foreshadowed the impact he would have on the community. A planner and organizer, this Italian apostle to a non-Italian neighborhood within a few months had erected a wooden structure to serve as the Church of the Sacred Heart. A school was next in order and by 1882 the pastor's distinct accent was being heard in it every week. A cemetery, a young men's club, and other organizations rounded out the parochial life. Then a new and grander church building was necessary and to its gala consecration in October, 1894, went Archbishop Francesco Satolli, the first Apostolic Delegate to the United States.

By the time of Father Nardiello's death in 1915, Sacred Heart Parish was well established in its traditions, including that of athletics for the young men. These were all

taken up by Timothy M. Donovan who was, however, more of the scholar and orator than a social mixer. In war time he added a notable feature of military drill in the parish school. By 1922 he too made his mark as a builder with a new school. Since 1941 two other pastors have presided over the destinies of this Bloomfield Catholic flock and have made changes demanded by the increasingly industrial character of the town, such as late masses on Sunday and adult education. They continued the tradition of increasing the fervor of faith among Catholics and also of sharing fully in the community's life.

Most American Catholic parishes do not come off so well in their histories. This work has an index, brief description of sources, and appendices listing various types of people once connected with the parish. It is documented—at the back of the volume—from press stories and interviews especially. The latter give it life while the former supply overly-long quotations. It is written as if only Catholics were expected to read it and at times is too convinced of the wisdom of all decisions of ecclesiastics. As a matter of fact there is not a shadow in the book of any sort. The foreigner soon loses his way geographically, due to the lack of any kind of map.

No mention is made of a search of the archives of the Archdiocese of Newark and the references to such parish materials as *records* and *files* is obscure. An interesting fact that might be supplied, to the

story is that 261 men of the parish saw service in World War I. This information is in the files of the Historical Records Bureau of the old National Catholic War Council now deposited at the Catholic University of America.

This work shows a consciousness of the need of secular background and the author is better steeped in local history than in the more general picture of the Catholic Church in the United States during the three-quarters of a century covered by his book. It will stand as a work of value for the church and local historian but it might easily have been improved.—HENRY J. BROWNE, *Catholic University of America*.

Witherspoon Comes to America: a Documentary Account. EDITED BY L. H. BUTTERFIELD. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Library, 1953. 95 pages. Price \$4.00.

The saga of John Witherspoon, 1723-1794, sixth president of the College of New Jersey, may be altered if this small volume of forty-six letters is representative of his complete correspondence. Though he was a member of the Continental Congress, a Signer of the Declaration of Independence, and moderator of the first general assembly of the Presbyterian Church, Witherspoon's motives and personality have remained concealed. One explanation of this is that he changed not only his main occupation, when he emigrated in 1768, but also his outlook and his objectives. Moreover, he was not prone

to self-revelation, and numerous personal writings were destroyed before his death; others were either edited or lost by the Rev. Ashbel

Green, on whom both John Maclean and V. L. Collins¹ were forced to depend for primary material.

This collection of new letters covering 1766-68, when Witherspoon shed his past and plunged into the work of college president and teacher, is therefore an arresting event. They are chiefly products of three prominent colonial figures, all Signers: John Witherspoon, Scotch orthodox Presbyterian minister at Paisley, with twenty-nine; Richard Stockton (Class of 1748), a Princeton lawyer and temporary commissioner in London during 1767 with four; Benjamin Rush (Class of 1760), a student of medicine at the University of Edinburgh, 1766-69, with six letters summarized in the annotations, and with one printed. Twelve others written by Scotch and American clergymen, interested in the choice of a new president, reflect public opinion on this tense drama from both sides of the Atlantic. References for each letter show that fourteen or more have been printed previously in collections, or extracts of them have been used in secondary works, such as Collins'. Since over thirty have never been printed in sequence before, the book definitely makes a contribution to the study of rare primary material.

¹John Maclean, *History of the College of New Jersey* (1877); V. Lansing Collins, *President Witherspoon* (1925), II, 235.

But the total project, including annotations, introduction, and notes, attempts much more than this; it gives us the version of the Ashbel Green-Maclean-Collins account, but stresses what Butterfield terms the "psychological drama." Since Collins appears to have had access to about a dozen of these forty-six letters, it is nearly inevitable that the use of thirty more would yield new relationships and a more complex sequence of events. The author-editor, however, has missed the implications of his new material; he states that his new collection *does not alter the main lines* of the story as told by Collins, but only supplies many significant and diverting details. A reason the new story was missed may be the failure to co-ordinate the eight Benjamin Rush letters of 1766-68 with the twenty-nine Witherspoon letters, twenty-four of them to Rush. The six summaries of Rush letters in the annotations are too brief for clarity; two vitally significant letters are left out altogether. Since Butterfield himself edited the Rush correspondence in 1951, his failure to use it effectively is inexplicable.

Briefly, the story of these negotiations is concerned first with the reasons for the choice of Witherspoon—"the bold idea," as Collins aptly terms it. The second aspect concerns the facts behind the complicated transactions of April, 1767-November, 1767, when Mrs. Witherspoon is supposed to have withdrawn voluntarily her refusal to go, and when an irregular election occurred at Princeton, followed by Witherspoon's election in Decem-

ber. An equally important aspect of the story then follows, relatively neglected in the annotations; it includes Witherspoon's preparation for his new work by visits to England and Holland, and his educational and religious policies soon after arrival. Here it is quite plain that his heart lay in the secular aspect of the "call," although, as president, he was normally the minister of the small Princeton church and professor of divinity at the College.

In explaining the choice of Witherspoon, there is overstress upon the religious situation caused by prolongation of the New Light controversy of the 1740's. Witherspoon came because his career in Scotland was at a standstill. Butterfield's unfortunate summary of the American Presbyterian controversy repeats previous misstatements concerning the founding of the College of New Jersey (i.e., that it was the product of the Synod of New York), while his partisan approach to the religious status quo is reminiscent of the whimsical treatment of the Great Awakening found in T. J. Wertenbaker.² A careful reading of the *Minutes of the Synod of New York* (1841), as well as a few key sermons, is necessary if this subject is to be understood even partially. Because the editor did not understand it, his analogy between the quarrels of the American Presbyterians and those of the moderate and popular parties is also

false. The party of enlightened ministers and savants opposed to Witherspoon had no counterpart in New Jersey. Witherspoon had little sympathy with the New Lights; this is implicit in his equivocal letter to Stockton, July 8, 1767, and in his prompt dismissal of John Blair, professor of divinity, and Joseph Perriam, tutor and advocate of Jonathan Edwards' idealism. When Witherspoon wrote his young admirer, Benjamin Rush, April 29, 1767, "I am not ignorant of the particular and personal opposition of our leading men to me," he referred to his anomalous philosophical position in Scotland, as well as to a libel suit in which he was the defendant.³ Consequently, study of the Scotch Enlightenment is more relevant than the schemes of the Old Lights in explaining his acceptance.

The success of the plan to acquire Witherspoon has hitherto been ascribed to Mrs. Witherspoon's voluntary change of mind. Butterfield has added a new and modern motif to this idea, and its hero is Benjamin Rush. Brilliant young medical student who later made one of the first American contributions to psychiatry—the use of suggestion instead of moral exhortation⁴—Rush had been briefed on the Witherspoon impasse by Richard Stockton. Having organized a vindictive campaign among all the nearby ministers against Mrs. Witherspoon (letter

³Collins, I, 62.

²T. J. Wertenbaker, *Princeton: 1746 to 1946* (1946).

⁴Q. W. Riley, *American Thought* (1923), pp. 104-17.

of March 17, 1767), Stockton gave his views to Rush on governing recalcitrant wives (April 14, 1767), views which should be included in A. W. Calhoun's social history. The hostility created around Mrs. Witherspoon, however, is not considered here to be a factor in her conversion to the Princeton plan; it is Rush, "young, sanguine, and not to be denied," who effected "a quick recapitulation" in August, between the 14th and 22nd. In this contention the letters giving evidence of Mrs. Witherspoon's illness between March 17 and October 15 are passed over, as is the fact she had lost five children out of ten in recent years. More significant is the absence of all first-hand evidence that Rush visited the Witherspools in August. The Rev. Archbishop Wallace's letter of August 22, from his parish at Edinburgh, fifty miles away, simply relays Witherspoon's momentous news to Richard Stockton: "His wife has at last given a calm hearing to Mr. Rush, and received a satisfying answer to all her objections." No mention is made of the date or of a quick recapitulation. Likewise, the next letter of September 16 gives no support to the idea, mentioning that Witherspoon's wife remains "altogether resigned to the Issue."

The only evidence of a "quick recapitulation" remains in the letter of Witherspoon, August 14, a desperate request for Rush to come at once. It describes his wife's reaction to some news of the change thus: "She was excessively struck with the bare Mention of it again,

as having believed it to be quite over, and discovered if possible the source of a greater aversion to it than ever, saying it would be as A Sentence of Death to her."

What was this all about? The answer is contained in the Rush letter to Witherspoon of August 1, 1767, omitted from the text, and summarized incorrectly (p. 48). In this letter is a report from Jonathan Bayard Smith (Class of 1760) with evidence that Dr. Redman, a trustee, and others in the Princeton circle considered Witherspoon's accession an accomplished fact. Written in America probably in June, before Stockton's arrival of July 19, it suggests that authentic word of Witherspoon's availability had been sent about April 30. This happens to be the date of a second omitted letter, written by Rush to J. B. Smith, in which the Jerseyan was assured Witherspoon had not decided finally. It is doubtful if this April 30 letter of Rush is the only word received in America on Witherspoon's availability, but there is no doubt that the idea was accepted. Evidence for this is found in Stockton's letter of November 5. This says that Samuel Blair's resignation of October was "engineered" *before* the news of Mrs. Witherspoon's acquiescence was received in Princeton. (It will be recalled that Wallace had sent the first news on Mrs. Witherspoon, August 22.) Such speed in disposing of Blair suggests assurance on Witherspoon. Furthermore, the letters themselves written in October by Witherspoon indicate an answer was daily expected from

America, between October 11 and October 23. An average trip one way consumed six to eight weeks; this means that Witherspoon and Rush had *not* waited until August 22 to negotiate a re-election. Thus the letter of August 1 shatters the old sequence of events.

Returning to Mrs. Witherspoon's "sentence of Death" on August 14: To her the news from Princeton in Rush's August 1 letter meant that Witherspoon had deceived her on his intention not to accept the "call" to Princeton without her consent (letter of April 18, 1767), and that the *voluntary* principle professed was a hoax. In this light her reaction of August 14 is comprehensible. A discussion may have occurred between her and Rush, "with her objections answered," but again, there is no evidence. A likely possibility is that Rush, if he came, rendered medical aid, and that she prospered. Witherspoon would not be inclined to admit her degree of illness to anyone but Rush—not even to a brother minister.

We are justified, therefore, in concluding that this group of letters not only alters the main lines of Collins' account of the story of Witherspoon's election; it ruins Butterfield's improvements. In this respect the book contributes appreciably to a new view of this era of Princeton's history. It also supplies us with a better insight into the

real motives and driving ambition of Witherspoon. We do not feel, however, that it makes a substantial contribution to the sociological data already collected on the American scene in the eighteenth century, and available in Mrs. Spruill's work, and in A. W. Calhoun's four volumes.⁵ If Mr. Butterfield had proved correct about Mrs. Witherspoon's free choice, the incident would have been virtually unique, and would have paralleled the early Quaker position on slavery. The principal value of the letters, therefore, lies in their new light on the gradual secularization of education. Inadequate attention was paid in the annotations to this topic, especially in respect to Witherspoon's accounts of the academic deficiencies found on his arrival in 1768. They suggest that New Light ignorance had not been exaggerated by the Old Side, and that Benjamin Rush had misrepresented the true conditions.

It goes without saying that the annotations should be corrected, the omitted Rush letters included, and the summaries enlarged. Then the volume will constitute a valuable addition to the history of liberal education.—PAULINE T. SWINDELLS, *Maplewood, N. J.*

⁵J. C. Spruill, *Woman's Life and Work in the Southern Colonies* (1938); A. W. Calhoun, *A Social History of the American Family* (1919).

THE PERIODICAL PRESS

The listing of periodical articles in this issue is limited to those on local history, archaeology, and genealogy. Others are being held for the July number.

The current issue of *Shore and Beach*, journal of the American Shore and Beach Preservation Association, October 1953-April 1954, is a memorial to J. Spencer Smith of Tenafly, who served New Jersey with distinction from 1902 to his death last November. Resolutions and editorials honoring him and quotations from his speeches and writings occupy ten pages of the magazine.

The April, 1954, issue of *Public Health News*, official publication of the New Jersey State Department of Health, is devoted to the history of tuberculosis in New Jersey and of the New Jersey Tuberculosis League. The magazine welcomes to New Jersey the fiftieth-anniversary meeting of the National Tuberculosis Association, founded in 1904 at Atlantic City. Four feature articles on the history of tuberculosis control in New Jersey make this issue of *Public Health News* a valuable resource for the study of New Jersey social history.

PAGES FROM THE PAST

"Abstracts of Early Land Surveys," copied by Olive Conover Rundstrom, in *Atlantic County Historical Society Yearbook*, October 1953, pp. 252-55.

"An Archivist Looks at County Records," by Joseph S. Sickler, in *New Jersey County Govern-*

ment, January 1954, p. 20. New Jersey author-historian urges selective microfilming of county records.

"Bachelor House," by Arthur Sulton and Somers Corson, in *Cape May County Historical and Genealogical Society Bulletin*, March 1954, pp. 1-2. This and other information in the bulletin relate to landmarks in the path of the Garden State Parkway, some of which will be moved or obliterated.

"Daniel Leeds Almanac for 1706," in *Atlantic County Historical Society Yearbook*, October 1953, pp. 228-31. Three pages are illustrated; the collection of Leeds almanacs is in the New-York Historical Society.

"Deed of 1820 (Benjamin Endicott and Richard Somers to Abner Doughty, Jr., 1820)," by Georgianna C. Blake, in *Atlantic County Historical Society Yearbook*, October 1953, pp. 242-43.

"The Delawares," by Charles Edgar Nash, in *New Jersey Outdoors*, December 1953, pp. 12-17 ff. Reprint of a chapter from *The Lure of Long Beach*, published by the Long Beach Board of Trade, 1936.

"Der Colonie Nieu Nederland," by Ecklord J. deKay in *New York Folklore Quarterly*, Winter 1953, pp. 245-54. Dutch customs and festivals.

"Dr. Craven and the Prison Life of Jefferson Davis," by Chester D. Bradley, in *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*,

- January 1954, pp. 50-94. Dr. John J. Craven, Newark and Jersey City physician, inventor and businessman, was, when a surgeon in the Union Army, the personal physician of the captured Jefferson Davis. This important article, based on extensive research and original source materials, is the most complete account of Dr. Craven's life to date, and deals effectively with the controversy over Dr. Craven's authorship of *The Prison Life of Jefferson Davis*.
- "Dutch Systems in Family Names, New York and New Jersey," by Rosalie Fellows Bailey, in *National Genealogical Society Quarterly*, December 1953, pp. 109-18. Concluding article.
- "First Settlements in the Delaware Valley," by Audubon R. Davis, in *Jersey Genesis*, October 1953, pp. 6-7.
- "The Franklin Experimental Club of Newark, N.J., 1809-1892," by Harold A. Sonn, in *Jersey Genesis*, October 1953, p. 4.
- "Freehold," by Robert H. Yard, in *New Jersey Bell*, March 1954, pp. 2-4 ff. In the series, "Cities of New Jersey."
- "Further Letters of Benjamin Rush," edited with introduction by L. H. Butterfield, in *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, January 1954, pp. 3-44. Letters, 1765-1812, never before published, include several of New Jersey interest.
- "Genealogical Records from Theresa Somers Bible," copied by Georgianna C. Blake, in *Atlantic County Historical Society Year-book*, October 1953, pp. 250-51.
- "The Goode Island Site, Gloucester County, New Jersey," by Charles F. Kier, Jr., in *Eastern States Archeological Federation Bulletin*, October 1953, p. 8.
- "Gracebury of Belfast, Ireland, Salem County, N.J. and South Carolina," contributed by Lewis D. Cook, in *National Genealogical Society Quarterly*, December 1953, p. 124. Also published in *Genealogical Magazine of New Jersey*, January 1951, p. 14.
- "The Grasshopper War Folktales," by John Witthoft, in *Journal of America Folklore*, October-December 1953, pp. 295-301. Scholarly article on Delaware Indian legend.
- "The Greenwich Tea-Burners," by Rae K. Hatch, in *Stamps*, March 27, 1954.
- "Happy Yule Parties Years Ago, Century Old Festivities Enjoyed at the Plains," in *Psychogram*, January 1954, p. 19. Christmas Eve, 1853, at Wiggins' Tavern, Morris Plains.
- "Here's a Record," in *Newark Real-tor*, July 1953, pp. 2-3. Brief history of the Coeyman family, Newark land-owners since 1698, quoting Harry M. Coeyman, real-tor, 1953.
- "The Historic Minisink Site, Part I," by Charles A. Philhower, in *Bulletin of the Archeological Society of New Jersey*, November 1953, pp. 1-9. Many quotations from primary sources.
- "Historical Tour of 1953," by C. W. W. Elkin, in *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*, September-December 1953, p. 169.

- Includes "The Heart of Alleghany College" by Dr. Paul B. Canes, head of the Department of History at Alleghany College. This speech, given at Meadville during the tour, is of particular interest in New Jersey as it relates the part played in the founding of a college at Meadville by Roger Alden and his cousin the Reverend Timothy Alden, principal of the Young Ladies' Department at the Newark Academy and author of the New Jersey almanacs of 1811 and 1812.
- "Jonathan Edwards at Princeton, with a Survey of Edwards Materials in the Princeton University Library," by Howard C. Rice, Jr., in *Princeton University Library Chronicle*, Winter 1954, pp. 69-89.
- "Maps in the Princeton Library," in *Princeton University Library Chronicle*, Winter 1954, pp. 101-04.
- "Montclair Period Piece, Part III," by Helen Peck Young, in *Quest*, March 1954, pp. 12-13 ff. "Recollection of my childhood in the late eighteen-eighties."
- "A Museum Visit," by Lancelot Ely, in *Bulletin* of the Archeological Society of New Jersey, November 1953, pp. 19-24. Private museum of Arthur C. King, Toms River, contains Indian relics with particular emphasis on New Jersey.
- "Muskets in the Pulpit, 1776-1783," by Leonard J. Kramer, in *Journal* of the Presbyterian Historical Society, December 1953, pp. 229-44. Much about John Wither- spoon; to be continued.
- "New Jersey Family Associations, Forth Coming Reunions and Meetings," in *Jersey Genesis*, April 1954, p. 11. A continuing feature.
- "Obtaining County Records at Source," in *Jersey Genesis*, October 1953, p. 9.
- "A Page from Yesterday," in *Newark Realtor*, July 1953, p. 12. Reminiscences of fifty years of the Vailsburg section of Newark by John V. Noll.
- "Records of the Orphans Court of Gloucester County, N.J. [1797-1828]," copied by Olive Conover Rundstrom, in *Atlantic County Historical Society Yearbook*, October 1953, pp. 247-49.
- "Relation of the Shawnee to the Lenape," by Charles A. Philhower, in *Archeological Society of New Jersey News Letter*, February 1954, pp. 12-14.
- "St. Patrick Day Celebrations," in *Psychogram*, March 1954, p. 27. Washington's St. Patrick's Day proclamation at Jockey Hollow, 1780.
- "Scul Genealogy," by Olive Conover Rundstrom, in *Atlantic County Historical Society Yearbook*, October 1953, pp. 220-27. To be continued.
- "Sidelights on the Founding of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad," by Alfred R. James in *Maryland Historical Magazine*, December 1953, pp. 267-309. Includes discussion of the use of inclined planes in railroads and canals, including the Morris Canal.
- "Some Archeological Observations in the Lost Creek Valley, Pennsylvania," by Herbert L. Taylor,

in *Bulletin* of the Archeological Society of New Jersey, November 1953, pp. 10-18. Discussion of various theories on the migrations of the Lenni Lenape Indians, with references to the "Walum Olum" and to the "Grasshopper War."

"Stacey Hepburn and Company; Enterprisers in the American Revolution," by Clarence L. Ver Steeg, in *South Carolina Historical Magazine*, January 1954, pp. 1-5. Active partner in an enterprise to carry on trade between Charleston and the West Indies, Stacey Hepburn was a "little known young man from New Jersey," the other partners being Robert Morris and several French mercantile firms. Article based on correspondence in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Stacey Hepburn was son and executor of James Hepburn of Windsor, Middlesex County, whose will, 1785, and inventory, 1789, are listed in Volume VI of New Jersey "Abstracts of Wills."

"The Telephone in Freehold," in *New Jersey Bell*, March 1954, p. 5.

"The Theological Seminary Li-

brary," by Kenneth S. Gapp, in *Princeton University Library Chronicle*, Winter 1954, pp. 90-100.

"Trap Rock Artifacts of the Passaic Valley," by W. H. Hayes, in *Archeological Society of New Jersey News Letter*, February 1954, pp. 15-16.

"Trenton Banking Company—150 Years of Service," by Karl G. Hastedt, in *Trenton Magazine*, March 1954, pp. 6-7 ff.

"Trenton's Battle Monument," by Karl G. Hastedt, in *Trenton Magazine*, March 1954, pp. 9 ff. Second of a series on the Battle Monument.

"275th Anniversary Postmark," in *Trenton Magazine*, March 1954, p. 8.

"Will of Andrew Blackman—1785," copied by Georgianna C. Blake, in *Atlantic County Historical Society Yearbook*, October 1953, pp. 244-46. To be continued.

"Winter Meeting of the Society," in *Archeological Society of New Jersey News Letter*, February 1954, pp. 4-5. A description of the Indian relic collection of the late Merritt Lum Budd of Chatham, soon to be sold.

TO THE EDITOR

DEAR MR. SINCLAIR:

The following corrections should be made in the issue of January, 1925 (New Series, Volume X), page 60, "Connecticut Farms Headstone Inscriptions":

Under "Potter, David Magie": change age at death from "84" to "64."

Under "Potter, Matthias, Capt.": delete "2nd wife, Emily, d. Feb. 10, 1835, aged 50 yrs., 1 mo." and substitute "2nd wife, Rhoda, d. Sept. 25, 1822, aged 73 yrs., 1 mo., and 29 dys."

The statement concerning Matthias Potter's second wife as originally written, repeated the headstone inscription of Emily Potter which appears sixth above that of Matthias Potter on the same page. Emily was the youngest daughter of Capt. Matthias Potter, not his wife.

The inscription of Matthias Potter's second wife was omitted completely from the list. The original headstones of both wives are still in good condition in the Connecticut Farms Presbyterian churchyard, Union, N. J.

Sincerely yours,

HELEN P. ALLEMAN (Mrs. Fred R.)
Washington, New Jersey.



"ISAAC BROKAW, BRIDGE TOWN"

One of the grandfather clocks made by Isaac Brokaw at Rahway (Bridge Town). This particular clock was purchased at a country vendue in the 1850's by the father of the late A. Van Doren Honeyman, whose daughter Mrs. Maud H. Greene is the present owner.